REVISITING THE PAST, RECASTING THE PRESENT: THE RECEPTION OF GREEK ANTIQUITY IN MUSIC, 19TH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

Hellenic Music Centre

EDITED BY KATERINA LEVIDOU AND GEORGE VLASTOS

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PREFACE

The impact of Greek antiquity on modern culture is anything but unexplored territory, a hardly surprising fact given that the modern Western civilisation is widely considered as an offspring of ancient Greek culture and thought. The extent to which Western art music, specifically – from the Renaissance onwards – has been indebted to ancient Greek culture, thought and history is an issue constantly revisited by scholars from within as well as beyond the area of musicology, particularly thanks to the recent flourishing of reception studies. The range of repertories, however, that have been scrutinised is (perhaps predictably) narrow, with art music of Western European countries – especially the genre of opera – dominating our understanding of the ways in which music has drawn on ancient Greece. Without excluding this part of the Western musical tradition, the conference 'Revisiting the Past, Recasting the Present: The Reception of Greek Antiquity in Music, 19th Century to the Present' – which took place in Athens, Greece, between 1 and 3 July 2011 (http://athensconf2011.gateweb.gr/) – brought it side by side with aspects of Western musical culture that have been underrepresented in the study of musical receptions of ancient Greece. The advancement of a multilateral, and hence more balanced, outlook on musical receptions of Greek antiquity since the nineteenth century has been a primary preoccupation of all three co-organisers of the event, reflecting their Eastern European leanings: the Study Group for Russian and Eastern European Music of the British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies (http://www.basees.org.uk/sgreem.shtml); the Greek musicological journal *Polyphonia* (http://www.polyphonia.gr/); and the Hellenic Music Centre (http://www.hellenicmusiccentre.com/). Thus, Central and Eastern European repertories (such as Hungarian, Russian, Serbian, Greek), musical genres other than that of the opera, and, in fact, traditions other than the art musical one (for instance folk, Byzantine and TV music) were explored alongside the usual suspects, including Berlioz, Ravel and Richard Strauss.

The present volume of conference proceedings gathers a number of essays, based on papers presented at the conference. The first section focuses on musical receptions of Greek antiquity on stage and screen: incidental music for productions of ancient Greek dramas in twentieth-century Greece (Siopsi, Seiragakis, and Soulele) and France (Soulele), as well as television music (Poulakis). In the second section we remain in the realm of stage music, turning to French ballet (Petroudi, Escande). Section three explores two cases in which ancient Greek female figures inspired early twentieth-century opera (Sobaskie, Stavridou). The fourth section examines the intersection of music with literature through Berlioz's *Les Troyens* (Stefanović) and Russian Symbolism (Flamm). The reception of ancient Greece through two very diverse cases of theoretical writings – a treatise on Byzantine music by Chrysanthos from Madytos (Tentes) and the work of the German sociologist,

philosopher and political economist Max Weber (Petrov) – is investigated in section five. The following part detects some ways in which ancient Greece has left its mark on the Greek folk musical tradition (Hnaraki, Tsokani and Sarris). The legacy of ancient Greece to modern Greek art music is traced with reference to the composers Alekos Xenos (Charkiolakis), Georgios Sklavos (Fistouris), Yorgos Sicilianos (Christopoulou) and Dimitris Dragatakis (Kalopana). The volume closes with four case studies on Central and Eastern Europe: the Hungarian composers Zoltán Kodály (Dalos) and Edmund Mihalovich (Windhager), and Serbian composers such as Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac (Atanasovski), Vlastimir Trajković and Aleksandra-Anja Đorđević (Milin).

The Editors
Athens, November 2013

Note on Transliteration, Translation, Abbreviations, and Work Titles

As a rule, unless otherwise stated, names and work titles appear as they are presented in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2nd edn., Macmillan: London, 2001). Throughout the volume the ALA-LC system of Romanisation has been employed. Unless otherwise stated, translations have been provided by the essay authors.

The following abbreviations have been employed:

n.d. = no date
n.p. = no place
n.p.n. = no page number

I. ON STAGE AND SCREEN

Ancient Greek Images in Modern Greek Frames: Readings of Antiquity in Music for Productions of Ancient Dramas and Comedies in Twentieth-Century Greece

Anastasia Siopsi

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ABSTRACT: The purpose of this paper is to offer readings of the ways in which Greek composers articulate images of 'antiquity' in their works for stage productions of ancient Greek dramas and comedies in twentieth-century Greece. The broader attitudes of Greek archaeology and of the way Greeks view their past are taken into account towards this end, since these are largely responsible for the reception of images of antiquity by the Greek society.

Two are the main points that will be elaborated in this respect:

1.   The use of non-Western elements in such music, seen as part of the identity of Modernism, and not only, in Greece, where opposition to the West had a long history. First of all, in Greece of the 1890s–1920s, the historical, social and political circumstances were entirely different from those in Western Europe (particularly due to the two Balkan wars and the country's defeat in Asia Minor). Even later, in the 1930s, Greece's Western orientation was ideologically countered with an Eastward orientation. Such two-sided orientation is also evident in modern Greece in the next decades. I will examine such tendencies in the music under consideration.

2.   Music written for productions of ancient Greek drama in modern Greece as distancing itself from the mainstream of the European operatic tradition. I will argue that productions of ancient drama and comedy in twentieth-century Greece deliberately and systematically avoided the adoption of operatic forms. Music derived mainly from contemporary musical idioms blended with elements of the Greek folk musical tradition. Symphonic music in productions of ancient dramas is introduced as early as the interwar period; however, characteristics such as folk and Byzantine music, non-Western elements, a more lyrical approach due to respect of the words, the use of magnetic tapes and electronic sounds and other experimental approaches form alternative approaches to ancient drama as musical theatre, especially from the 1960s onwards, by important composers such as Jani Christou, Iannis Xenakis, Theodore Antoniou, Arghyris Kounadis, George Couroupos and so forth.

Introduction

In Greece, it was around the beginning of the twentieth century that a systematic development of an indigenous musical language, especially for the needs of productions of ancient drama, began. This beginning coincided with the establishment of the 'Association for the Staging of Ancient Greek Drama' in 1895. President of this Society was Giōrgos Mistriōtēs (1840–1916), professor at the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens, and supporter of the preservation of the ancient Greek language in performances of ancient dramas. The main composers of this association were Joannes Theophrastos Sakellarides

(1853–1938) and Giōrgos Pachtikos (1869–1916).[1]

This was the first time that in revivals of ancient Greek drama in modern Greece music's role became significant. It had not been the case for the largest part of the nineteenth century since music, in that period, was not written especially for productions of ancient dramas. Instead, the music employed then comprised a number of extracts 'borrowed' from music by European composers, such as Felix Mendelssohn and Christoph Willibald Gluck, whose character was deemed to be 'appropriate', to use an expression frequently found in music programs and reviews of that time.[2]

Thus, the main purpose of this analysis is to offer readings of the ways in which Greek composers articulated images of 'antiquity' in their works for stage productions of ancient dramas and comedies in twentieth-century Greece since composers started developing a specific musical language for the needs of productions of ancient drama.

Two are the main points that are elaborated with respect to the main aim of my study. First, the systematic use of non-Western elements in music written for productions of ancient dramas, which include Byzantine and folk music, in line with Greece's history since its liberation from the Ottomans in 1821. Second, the blending of modernist techniques with local musical traditions.

The use of non-Western elements

Since Greece's liberation from the Ottoman Empire in 1821, and throughout the nineteenth century, Greece was perceived as a margin:[3] it belonged to the 'periphery', Europe being the 'core'. It was viewed as such either by Western dominant readings (its Eastern character defined by Westerns[4]) or by Greeks themselves, at least during that century, who saw their own land as a periphery. Also, Greece of the nineteenth century was more an amalgam of different cultural regions than a homogenous cultural entity. The Ionian Islands, for example, were for most of the nineteenth century under a British 'protectorate' and had a quite different cultural development than that of the main part of Greece. Each one of these distinct regions developed a separate cultural trend (the most important cultural centres being Constantinople, Corfu and Athens).

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[1] See a more extensive analysis of music written for the 'Association for the Staging of Ancient Drama' and its romantic characteristics in Anastasia Siopsi, 'Dreaming the Myth of "Wholeness": Romantic Interpretations of Ancient Greek Music in Greece (1890–1910)', in Rachael Langford (ed.), *Textual Intersections: Literature, History and the Arts in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Internationale Forschungen zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft; Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 2009), 201–214.

[2] A selection of 'appropriate' pieces was used for the chorus parts and in between the main lines of the actors. Sometimes there was an orchestral introduction and/or musical interludes (intermezzos).

[3] On the issue of Greece as a margin see also Anastasia Siopsi, 'Introduction', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* (special issue: 'Music in Nineteenth-Century Greece'), 8 (2011), 5–6.

[4] See Katy Romanou, 'The Pentulum Case. Musicians' Dilemmas in "Marginal" Societies', in *Prostori modernizma: opus Ljubice Marić u kontekstu muzike njenog vremena: zbornik radova sa naučnog skupa održanog od 4. [sic.] do 7. novembra 2009* (Spaces of Modernism: Ljubica Marić's Oeuvre in the Context of the Music of her Time: Proceedings of the International Conference held from 5 to 7 November 2009) (Belgrade: Muzikološki institut SANU, 2010), 189.

It is in this context that we come to understand the coexistence of Eastern and Western influences – such as these of the Orthodox Church and the Enlightenment – in works of Greek composers, music education and music reception of that period. Enlightenment ideologies, for example, emphasised on ancient Greece as being the predecessor of the nation; needless to say that this was the way that Europeans saw Greeks, since the West attributed great importance to the ancient Greek culture. Greek intellectuals, influenced by the ideas of Enlightenment, were eager to embrace Western values.[5] Even representatives of the Eastern Orthodox Church wanted to mix European trends with the modality of Byzantine chants. A good example of that is, according to Katy Romanou, 'the harmonization of the Orthodox liturgy, a collaboration of Ioannis Chaviaras and Benedict Randhartinger in 1843/44 done for the Greek church in Vienna which quickly disseminated in many Greek communities in Europe and was very successful in Athens as well'.[6]

The use of non-Western elements is also part of the identity of modernism in Greece, where opposition to the West had a long history. First of all, in the 1890s–1920s, the historical, social and political circumstances were entirely different from those in Western Europe (especially because of the two Balkan Wars and the country's defeat in Asia Minor).[7] Even later, in the 1930s, Greece's Western orientation was ideologically countered with an Eastward orientation. As Marinos Pourgouris puts it,

> the tension between East and West permeated the historical, social and political spheres and, in some ways, shaped the outlook of the 1930s generation of poets and writers.
> In the search for the lost Greek memory, Eastern oriented Byzantium offered a convenient alternative to the Western Ancient Greece; the latter was widely adopted by the West (politically, culturally, architecturally, and literarily), whereas the former was a historical locus of resistance to the West.[8]

Such a two-sided orientation is also evident in the next decades in modern Greece. I will show next how this phenomenon can be witnessed in music written for productions of ancient Greek dramas in twentieth-century Greece.

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[5] The term 'Greek Enlightenment' means the secularisation of ideas and education, apparently influenced by the spiritual achievements of eighteenth-century West.

[6] Romanou, 'The Pentulum Case', 190.

[7] Before the First World War, Greece had fought in the two Balkan Wars (the first one in 1912–1913 against the Ottoman Empire, the second in 1913 against Bulgaria); a year after the end of the Great War, the shattering of the national dream of the 'Megalē Idea' (The Great Idea) took place after Greece's defeat in Asia Minor. See, for example, Marinos Pourgouris, 'Topographies of Greek Modernism', in Sanja Bahun-Radunović and Marinos Pourgouris (eds.), *The Avant-Garde and the Margin: New Territories of Modernism* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2006), 92.

[8] Ibid. 93–94.

The theory of historical continuity: The *raison d'être* of the extensive employment of Greek folk tunes and Byzantine modes in music written for productions of ancient dramas (Byzantium and folk culture as an alternative to Western ancient Greece)

The theory of historical continuity attributed to the Greek musical tradition a central role in all musical developments, including music written for productions of ancient drama. Consequently, the presence of Greek folk tunes and Byzantine modes in this music was frequent and strong, usually with nationalistic implications.

This theory was established in the 1890s; according to it, there is an uninterrupted continuation from ancient Greece through Byzantium to modern Greece. This theory 'restored' the historical position of Byzantium in the evolution of Greek culture. In musical terms this meant the social and ideological 'upgrading' of the demotic song (that is, the Greek folk song that was developed during the four centuries of the Ottoman empire) and the Byzantine hymn by the end of the nineteenth century, since they were recognised as potentially useful for the creation of a musical idiom with 'national' characteristics; they alone could reassure the continuation of Greek musical culture from the ancient years to the present days.[9] Such theories were developed by composers such as Pachtikos and Joannes Theophrastos Sakellarides since 1895 and for almost two decades, supporting the idea that Byzantine hymns and folk music evolved from ancient Greek music. These theories were also encouraged by foreign intellectuals, such as Ugo Athanasio Gaisser, François-Auguste Gevaert, Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray and Ettore Romagnoli.[10]

This idea was also supported later. An important case is Eva Palmer-Sikelianou (1874–1952), a highly-educated and gifted American woman, who studied ancient Greek tragedy, music, and choreography. She was the founder of the Delphic Festivals of 1927 and 1930 together with her husband, the important Greek poet Angelos Sikelianos. She believed, along with the composer Kōnstantinos Psachos (1866/69–1949) – who wrote music for Aeschylus' ancient tragedies *Prometheus Bound* and *The Suppliant Maidens*, which were produced for these Delphic Festivals – that Byzantine hymns had evolved from ancient Greek music and, unlike European music, they preserved many of its characteristics.[11]

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[9] See a detailed approach to this matter in Anastasia Siopsi, 'Music in the Imaginary Worlds of Greek Nation: Greek Art Music during the Nineteenth-century's *fin de siècle* (1880s–1910s)', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* (special issue: 'Music in Nineteenth-Century Greece'), 8 (2011), 19–22.

[10] In the first decades of the twentieth century, the theory of historical continuity in Greek music was in agreement with important foreign theorists, as stated. Such support can be traced in several sources of that time and it is more evident within the cultural collaborations between Greece and Germany, which took place during these years, where we can observe ideological parallels on this issue and mutual support of them. See, for more details, Siopsi, 'Dreaming the Myth of 'Wholeness', 206–210.

[11] Such views were developed in her autobiography *Upward Panic: The Autobiography of Eva Palmer-Sikelianos*, ed. John P. Anton (Choreography and Dance Studies, 4; Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1993) and in her three lectures originally published in 1921: Eva Palmer-Sikelianou, *Ōraia mataioponia: Treis dialexeis* (Beautiful Futility: Three Lectures), ed. Ritsa Frankou-Kikilia (Athens: Ellēnika Grammata, 2005). According to them, only Byzantine modes could express, to use her own words, 'με καταπληκτική απλότητα οποιαδήποτε διαστήματα και οποιοδήποτε ρυθμό μπορεί να τραγουδήσει η ανθρώπινη φωνή. Η ευρωπαϊκή παρασημαντική είναι μακριά από τέτοια τελειότητα' (with amazing simplicity any [musical] interval and any rhythm that a human

The point to be made is that the acceptance of the theory of historical continuity in music – and its support by foreign intellectuals, at least during the first decades of the twentieth century – justified the musical idioms used in practice, which were based almost exclusively on Greek tradition, that is, on non-Western elements. However, these idioms were making no significant aesthetic and structural contributions by means of music to the total work of ancient drama, at least judging from the result. It is no coincidence that the music critic Sophia Spanoudē characterised Psachos's music for *Prometheus* as an 'ανούσια και ανιαρά παράταξη σχολικών παραδειγμάτων σολφέζ σε μια πρωτόγονη και κακότεχνη διατύπωσι ενός εμπειρικού δημοδιδασκάλου' (inessential and boring sequence of high-school vocal examples, a primitive and inartistic statement by an empirical [not educated] school teacher),[12] because this is what is heard aesthetically. Nevertheless, foreign and Greek journalists, by defending what was supposed to be 'Greek' on the basis of the dominant theory of historical continuity, found Psachos's music in accordance with the spirit of the tragedy. The same observation can be applied to music written by Pachtikos and Sakellarides, which was also based almost exclusively on the Greek musical tradition.

The 'presence' of the West can be found in Pachtikos's support of polyphonic arrangements of Byzantine and demotic melodies[13] since, according to him, polyphonic compositions are predominant in musical cultures of all 'civilised' nations of the world.[14]

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voice can sing. European notation is far from such perfection). Sikelianou, 'Ē ellēnikē mousikē' (Greek Music), *Ōraia mataioponia*, 77.

[12] Spanoudē also wrote on *Prometheus*' music (written by Psachos but performed at another production which took place in 1931, in Panathēnaikon Stadion, with stage producer Linos Karzēs and almost the same cast as in 1927) the following:

> [...] Με το προχθεσινό ακρόαμα της «μουσικής» του κ.Ψάχου ένιωσαν όλοι πόσο αληθινό είναι το ρητό που ισχυρίζεται ότι ένα μόνο βήμα χωρίζει το υψηλόν από το γελοίον. Μα δεν πρόκειται εδώ περί μουσικής. Πρόκειται περί ανούσιας και ανιαράς παρατάξεως σχολικών παραδειγμάτων σολφέζ σε μια πρωτόγονη και κακότεχνη διατύπωσι ενός εμπειρικού δημοδιδασκάλου. Ούτε υποψία μουσικής «φόρμας» είτε ρυθμικού ανάγλυφου, κατάλληλον για προσαρμογή στα Αισχύλεια χορικά – ούτε υποψία δημιουργίας ή αναπολήσεως μουσικής ατμόσφαιρας. Μια σκελετώδης παράταξις ξηρών φράσεων αρχαϊκής γραμματικής κλίμακας και γένους.

> [...] The 'music' that we heard yesterday, written by Psachos, made us feel how true is the saying according to which only one step separates the sublime from the ridiculous. But this is not about music. It is about an inessential and boring sequence of high-school vocal examples, a primitive and inartistic statement by an empirical [not educated] school teacher. There is not the slightest sense of musical 'structure' or of an outline of rhythm, suitable to be adapted to Aeschylus choruses – not even the slightest touch of creativity or contemplation of a musical atmosphere. It is only a breathless sequence of uninspired phrases of ancient modes and genres.

Sophia Spanoudē, 'Ē mousikē tou Promētheōs' (Prometheus' Music), *Mousika chronika*, 5–6 (May–June 1932), 153–154.

[13] Byzantine and folk music are basically, although not always, monophonic.

[14] See Giōrgos Pachtikos, *260 dēmōdē ellēnika asmata: apo tou stomatos tou Ellēnikou laou* (260 Folk Songs Derived from the Greek People's Oral Folk Tradition) (Athens: P. D. Sakellariou, 1905; repr. Athens: Vivliopōleio D. N. Karavia, 1992), λβ´; quoted in Kaitē Rōmanou, *Ethnikēs mousikēs periēgēsis 1901–1912: ellēnika mousika periodika ōs pēgē ereunas tēs istorias tēs neoellēnikēs mousikēs* (Wandering National Music 1901–1912: Greek Music Periodicals as a Source for the Research of Neohellenic Music), i (Athens: Koultoura, 1996), 182. J. Th. Sakellarides also harmonised Byzantine music to be sung by a chorus (1880s and onwards), something which

Also, Pachtikos orchestrated his music for ancient dramas mainly by using European instruments. On the contrary, Palmer did not intend to mix any European music techniques with Greek modes in her productions. At an interview she gave on the Delphic Festival early in 1927, she stated that everything had to be 'αγνό ελληνικό' (purely Greek): 'από το ένα μέρος η αρχαία τέχνη και ζωή, από το άλλο η λαϊκή τέχνη και ζωή' (on the one side ancient art and life, on the other folk art and life).[15] However, her intention to use only monophonic music with the accompaniment of one or two aulos[16] was compromised, since an orchestra was hired for all productions of the Delphic Festivals to accompany the monophonic vocal music.[17]

Tradition and the archetypal approach to antiquity in the interwar period: A 'touch' of modernism

In the interwar period, the majority of the composers who wrote music for ancient dramas – having as a main aim the recreation of the spirit of ancient Greek drama in modern terms, in line with the attitude of contemporaneous Greek archaeology and of the broader way Greeks viewed their past[18] – laid down the foundations for a more dialectical approach to

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caused strong disagreements by the Orthodox Church (see, on this issue, ibid. 245–249). Other scholars, for example, Ening (a German scholar, who initially served the Greek army (1833–1838) and then taught music in schools in Athens) disagreed with these views; according to his beliefs, stated in 1888, Greek traditional music, especially Byzantine music, should not be harmonised in the European way since Byzantine music has eight modes, three genres and rhythmic freedom, whereas European music has two modes, one genre and a strict rhythmic order (see quotation in ibid. 247–248). Also, Bourgault-Ducoudray believed that Greek melodies should be harmonised using ancient Greek modes (see his views in Louis Bourgault-Ducoudray, *Études sur la musique ecclésiastique grecque : Mission musicale en Grèce et en Orient janvier-mai 1875* (Paris: Hachette, 1887); Greek transl. (1st part) by Giōrgos Pachtikos, 'Peri tēs en anatolē mousikēs metarrythmiseōs' (On the Music Reformation in the East), *Mousikē,* 7 (July 1912), 193–195). In the period under examination, there was a strong debate on the issue of whether Byzantine and folk music should keep their character or change (that is, become 'adapted' to modern circumstances) by being harmonised through European music techniques.

[15] Quoted in Fōtos Giofillēs, 'To epigeion oneiron enos poiētou' (The Earthy Dream of a Poet), *Kyriakē tou Eleutherou Vēmatos*, 16 January 1927, n.p.n.

[16] Aulos is a Greek ancient type of flute.

[17] By Psachos's recommendation, an orchestra was put at the edge of the scenery, at a lower level than that of the stage. At this position, the orchestra could have no visual contact with the chorus.

[18] The employment of contemporary musical trends at that era coincides with a transformation of a broader cultural significance of the attitude towards the ancient world. As Dimitris Tziovas observes:

> Up to the thirties the relationship between Greek and European culture was discussed in terms of imitation, westernization or rejection of foreign influences whereas the generation of the thirties was seeking a creative dialogue and promoted the idea of cultural reciprocity. [...] If we attempt to outline the main ways in which Greek intellectuals have approached their country's past, and particularly ancient Greece, over the last two centuries, it comes down to the following four. The first two approaches to the past [...] correspond to some of the ways in which Europe saw the past, that is either as a political ideal and aesthetic model based on the rediscovery of Greek antiquity or through the ethno-romantic perspective of organic continuity and racial, geographic and cultural homogeneity. [...] The third approach [emerged during the thirties], which could be called aesthetic or modernist, represents an extension of the first two in that it assumes the presence of the past not so much as a historical survival but as a kind of aesthetic or stylistic continuity or a metaphorical equivalence. Thus the relationship between past and present is aestheticized while the notion of continuity is perceived aesthetically or metaphorically and not in material, historical or linguistic terms. The aestheticization

the past. Such an approach recognised fewer continuities and many more discontinuities, something that becomes more evident as we move closer to our present times.[19]

However, in the interwar period the presence of the Greek tradition (that is, Byzantine and folk music) in music written for productions of ancient dramas was strong, while other traditions were excluded, in line with the influential theory of 'historical continuity'. Also, the employment of any European contemporary musical technique at that era was, at large, met with disapproval since it was considered as inappropriate for the articulation of the spirit of ancient tragedy.

The expansion of the traditional language since the 1950s: Music's completed reflection of Greece's Western orientation countered with an Eastward orientation

Since the 1950s, by adopting different aesthetic perspectives, composers like Jani Christou, Iannis Xenakis, Mihalis Adamis, Theodore Antoniou, Dimitris Dragatakis and George Couroupos, to mention but a few, wrote music for productions of ancient dramas which embodied elements of the Eastern musical tradition in various forms blended with European contemporary trends of art music.[20]

In more detail, a systematic merging of ancient Greek *melos* with modern musical techniques mainly took place with important composers such as Arghyris Kounadis (that is, in his *Chorikon* (1958) he combined ancient Greek *melos* and modern serial techniques); Xenakis, who wrote incidental music for Aeschylus' *Oresteia* (1965); Christou, whose philosophical approach to music underlined its purpose as a kind of *catharsis* (the spirit of ancient Greek tragedy; in his music written for ancient dramas and a comedy we can trace elements that reflect, to a certain degree, the diversity of the post-war musical avant-

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of the past means that it loses its rigidity and becomes something that can be reassessed, revised or even rejected. […] Through the archetypal approach to antiquity, 'Greekness' emerges intuitively and stylistically as a result of fresh associations, reconfigurations and rethinking of the past.

Dimitris Tziovas, 'Reconfiguring the Past: Antiquity and Greekness', in Dimitris Damaskos and Dimitris Plantzos (eds.), *A Singular Antiquity: Archaeology and Hellenic Identity in Twentieth-Century Greece* (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2008), 292, 293, 287–288, and 293.

[19] Two important composers were Emilios Riadis and, especially, Dimitri Mitropoulos. Riadis wrote music for *Hecuba* (1927), which can be seen as the earliest attempt by a Greek composer to employ modern European music techniques together with archaic modes. Mitropoulos wrote music for Sophocles' *Electra* (1935) and Euripides' *Hippolytus* (1937), both in collaboration with stage producer Dēmētrēs Rontērēs. Mitropoulos's music is a very significant attempt to bring forth the importance of music in the total work of ancient drama. Mitropoulos's music bears all characteristics of Modernism, its orchestration reminds us of Béla Bartók, its rhythms of Sergey Prokofiev and Igor Stravinsky. At the same time, there is a reminiscence of the romantic passion of Gustav Mahler, Mitropoulos being one of the first conductors worldwide to 'discover' the Austrian composer.

[20] See, in more detail, Anastasia Siopsi, 'Music and the Scene in Stage Productions of Ancient Dramas and Comedies in Greece in the Last Decades of the Twentieth Century', *New Sound International Magazine*, 36/2 (2010), 75–90 <http://www.newsound.org.rs/clanci_eng/07%20Anastasia%20Siopsi.pdf>, accessed 1 August 2013.

garde,[21] elements that are blended into a highly subjective, personal musical language); and Antoniou, who has channelled his interest in antiquity into a wide array of musical genres and also employed the most advanced musical and technological devices.

I will refer briefly to a few specific examples of music for productions of ancient dramas which embodied elements of the Eastern musical tradition.

Byzantine influences exist in almost all of Christou's theatrical works.[22] They are more evident in his music for *Prometheus* and *Agamemnon*. When he was composing music for *Prometheus*, the composer stated that his Greek origin helped him to find within himself the Greek melodies and all the other elements he needed to produce that work.[23]

We can view the presence of Eastern elements especially in Christou's music and Karolos Koun's stage production of *The Persians*. For example, the percussion instruments, which occupy a prominent position, since whole passages of music are exclusively rhythmic,[24] are used in such a way as to suggest the musical tradition of Near Eastern countries.[25]

It is worth mentioning that the East was very important for Koun's aesthetics of stage production. Koun was a director of the Art Theatre. His aesthetic principles were derived from what he named as 'Greek folk expressionism' and are evident at least through his reception of Aristophanes.[26] His finest stage productions, according to my view, were in

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[21] See a more detailed discussion of Christou's music for ancient dramas in Anastasia Siopsi, 'Post-Avant garde Elements in Jani Christou's Music for Ancient Dramas (1963–1969)', Proceedings of the International Conference 'Beyond the Centres: Musical Avant-gardes since 1950', Thessaloniki, Greece, 1–3 July 2008 <http://btc.web.auth.gr/_assets/_papers/SIOPSI.pdf>, accessed 1 August 2013.

[22] In the period 1963–1969 Christou wrote music for four ancient tragedies and one comedy (*Prometheus Bound* (1963), *The Persians* (1965), *Agamemnon* (1965), *The Frogs* (1966), *Oedipus the King* (1969). See Siopsi, 'Post-Avant garde'.

[23] See interview with Christou by G. K. Pilichos in *Ta nea* (20/5/1963), n.p.n.

[24] Repeated drum rolls punctuated by cymbal strokes, various rhythmic effects, and so on. See, for more detail, Anna-Martine Lucciano, *Jani Christou: The Works and Temperament of a Greek Composer*, trans. Catherine Dale (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 2000), 75.

[25] See ibid. The spirit of the East is also captivated by means of staging and scenery designs in *The Persians*. Giannēs Tsarouchēs, the scenic designer, mixes classicism and Eastern elements.

[26] I will present briefly Koun's own statements that clarify this notion:

> [W]e modern Greeks have the great privilege of living from day to day among these forms, shapes, sounds, rhythms, in about the same way as the average ancient Greek did, but also as Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes did, the days bringing momentous or ordinary events, troubles or tranquillity, while their minds and spirits brought forth their great works. This is why if we want to interpret their plays in a truly creative manner, we must draw near them and discover all the things that penetrated their souls, consciously or unconsciously; we must discover anew all the great secrets that nature revealed to them – the sky, the sea, the rocks, the sun, the men who lived on those rocks and under that sun.
>
> These living elements that still surround us in this land will help us apprehend the thoughts and the poetry that pervade their work far better than all the ponderous, scholarly treatises that have been written on how ancient drama was staged. […]
>
> Greece as it is today will guide us and steer us clear of all the dead matter that often clutters the outer form of ancient drama; it will help our directors and designers to approach – freely and imaginatively, in a manner adapted to the requirements of both theatre and audience in the present age – works that were written two thousand years ago, yet still remain essentially alive.

Karolos Koun, 'The Ancient Theatre', Programme book for the 1993 season of the Greek Festival (Athens: Greek Tourism Organisation, 1993), 156–160. English translation in: Gonda A. H. Van Steen, *Venom in Verse: Aristophanes in Modern Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 160–161.

collaboration with two important composers: Christou, as I already mentioned, in the production of *The Persians*, and Manos Hadjidakis, in the second version of the production of *The Birds*, in 1962, which, moreover, proved to be Koun's greatest triumph. As regards the music written for *The Birds*, Hadjidakis recognised the originality of folk songs and attempted to manifest their spirit and essence in his music by using melodies, rhythms and the distinctive technique of folk musical instruments.[27] *The Persians* and *The Birds* are two important stage productions with an exemplary balance among the arts; both of them were used as examples by next generations, having set criteria for aesthetic judgment of future productions.

So, importantly, the influence of Eastern culture is largely accepted and embodied in Koun's aesthetics.[28] For Koun, classical theatre should be a mixture of two heterogeneous cultures: the mysterious East and the rational West, a co-existence of Apollo and Dionysus, just like the modern Greek civilisation.[29]

However, I should argue that the East for Christou is not part of his personal path of artistic development as far as his compositional procedures are concerned. He may have gradually abandoned all ancient European or Western cultural elements (along with every kind of traditional musical notation) from *Mysterion* (1965–1966) onwards; however, his abandonment of Western music did not coincide with the embracement of Eastern musical idioms. Nevertheless, his philosophical views included also a reference to ancient Egyptian symbols, thanks to his studies with the philosopher Bertrand Russell.

Xenakis is another important composer who 'blends' East and West in his music. He believed that a composer who writes music for ancient tragedy must derive elements from Greek folk music and Byzantine hymns, that, as he argued, are closer to the character of ancient Greek music.[30] He used folkloric elements, for example modes, monophonic or heterophonic music, frequently without accompaniment, tetrachords and so on for ancient Greek texts. In *Oresteia*, to mention one example, his choral settings recall the sound of the polyphonic songs of Epirus.

Antoniou wrote music for dozens of tragedies, some of them in the form of opera. However, he thinks that all his theories and convictions about opera are realised in his music for a production of *Bacchae* of 1995, in collaboration with Keith Botsford, who made the adaptation of the text for an opera (sung in English).[31] Regarding language, Antoniou states

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[27] Both these productions of Koun, *The Persians* and *The Birds*, as Gonda van Steen observes, 'represented what Philhellene Western European theatergoers have wanted to import from contemporary Hellas: live productions of the classics rather than of native Greek works'. Van Steen, *Venom in Verse*, 138.

[28] Since, moreover, he himself was brought up with sounds, shapes, colours and smells from Prusia (now: Bursa) and Constantinople.

[29] There is an Eastern dimension, for example, in terms of the chorus's movements in *The Persians*, which imply both panic and modesty, the steps being soft and cautious in the night, revealing the slavishness but also the discretion of the East.

[30] See, for example, Iannis Xenakis, *Keimena peri mousikēs kai architektonikēs* (Texts on Music and Architecture), ed. Makis Solomos, trans. Tina Plyta (Athens: Psychogios, 2001), 107–108.

[31] See one of Antoniou's interviews for this opera in Manolis Polentas, 'Euripides-Turned-Opera', *Athens News*, 15 August 1995, n.p.n.

that he chose English from the beginning, aiming this production for performances abroad; he adds that he wished the text to be limited to a telegraphic language, a libretto with keywords, where events will be dramatised rather than narrated. The composer wanted to articulate the Eastern element in *Bacchae*. As he stated: 'The search for that Eastern side of it goes hand-in-hand with the sort of music that I write. I mean that music that takes off from the Greek archetypes and which is difficult to convey with a classical symphony orchestra'.[32]

All the above-mentioned composers choose instruments from both the Eastern and the Western tradition; some of the non-Western instruments, such as gong, marimba, xylophone, are often blended with electronic sounds, hence the resulting orchestral timbre is often quite unusual.

Music written for productions of ancient drama in modern Greece: A way of moving away from the mainstream of the European operatic tradition (The hierarchy between music and words)

The other characteristic related to the articulation of images of 'antiquity' in music for stage productions of ancient dramas and comedies in twentieth-century Greece concerns the place of music in the hierarchy of the arts in this total work of art.

Music in Greek productions mainly underlined the words, at least for the first half of the twentieth century, and there was a consistent and systematic tendency to avoid operatic forms as a means of expression. Although, this observation might not have been a stated rule, at least in theory, it is a fact that the text remained predominant in the largest part of the Greek productions of ancient drama. Moreover, productions with music underlining the text were received more positively, since they were thought to express better the spirit of ancient tragedy.

I should mention that, on the contrary, music was important for productions in Europe, such as Max Reinhardt's: its role was to underline, to emphasise emotions by means of pure sound – and not words; music, movement, colour, sound and rhythm had to carefully co-ordinate with each other.[33] In fact, in European productions since the beginning of the twentieth century the predominance of music and chorus resulted in the employment of a

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[32] Ibid.

[33] See Richard Beacham, 'Eurōpē' (Europe), in Michael Walton (ed.), *To archaio ellēniko theatro epi skēnēs* (Ancient Greek Theatre on Stage) (Athens: Ellēnika Grammata, 2007), 439–440. See, in more detail, Anastasia Siopsi, 'A Comparative Study of Music Written for Productions of Ancient Greek Drama in Modern Greece and Europe (1900–1970)', in Evi Nika-Sampson, Giorgos Sakallieros, Maria Alexandru, Giorgos Kitsios, and Emmanouil Giannopoulos (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Musicological Conference 'Crossroads: Greece as an Intercultural Pole of Musical Thought and Creativity'* (Thessaloniki: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki – School of Music Studies, 2013), 743–753 <http://crossroads.mus.auth.gr/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/CROSSROADS_PROCEEDINGS.pdf>, accessed 1 August 2013.

technique called 'eurythmics'.[34] The ultimate aim was the articulation of the deepest emotions through the union of music and movement, especially in the choral parts. This can only be compared with Christou's music for *The Persians;* or with Xenakis's music for ancient themes. But both composers wrote music for ancient dramas in the 1960s, as already stated.

A similar role of the chorus can be found even earlier, in Richard Wagner's work. Wagner rendered even more importance to music by claiming in theory, and demonstrating through his music dramas, that the orchestra can act as a substitute for the chorus whenever the latter's presence is deemed unnecessary.[35] Wagner's views on the role of the chorus were derived in part from his interpretation of the chorus in Greek tragedy, which did not participate in the affairs of the tragedy but judged them, playing thus a reflective and not an active role.[36] Thus, the chorus's reflective role could be played only by means of the orchestra.

Wagner's ideas on this matter were not welcomed in Greece because of the superiority given to music, and because modern Greeks felt that a predominant role should be given to language as a means of expression in ancient drama, or, that a balance should be achieved among the three arts of music, poetry and dance.[37]

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[34] 'Eurythmics', also spelled eurhythmics (*rythmique* in French): harmonious bodily movement as a form of artistic expression – specifically, the Dalcroze system of musical education, in which bodily movements are used to represent musical rhythms.

> Eurythmics was developed about 1905 by the Swiss musician Émile Jaques-Dalcroze, a professor of harmony at the Geneva Conservatory, who was convinced that the conventional system of training professional musicians was radically wrong. Jaques-Dalcroze attempted to improve his students' musical abilities primarily by increasing their awareness of rhythm. His method was based on rhythmic bodily movements, ear training, and vocal or instrumental improvisation. In his system of eurythmic exercises, designed to develop concentration and rapid physical reaction, time is shown by movements of the arms, and time duration – i.e., note values – by movements of the feet and body. A quarter note, for example, is represented by a single step. For advanced students, the system of prescribed movements may be varied somewhat. In a typical exercise, the teacher plays one or two bars, which the student then executes while the next bars are played; thus, the student listens to a new rhythm while executing one already heard, an exercise requiring and at the same time developing concentration.

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/196597/eurythmics>, accessed 1 August 2013.
After the meeting of the Swiss music teacher Émile Jaques-Dalcroze, who had developed this technique, with stage designer Adolphe Appia in 1906, eurythmics became a very important means of expression in productions of ancient dramas.

[35] Such an idea found its substance, for example, in *Götterdämmerung,* to the extent that the chorus did not participate as an active personage. Moreover, the most important level of semanticisation through the chorus 'absorbed' itself in music, which (though sung and played) also reflected the ideal role of a chorus.

[36] Wagner's later view on the same issue are expressed in his *Zukunftmusik,* an essay which he wrote ten years after *Oper und Drama*; here Wagner states on the role of a chorus in opera of his own time: 'The Chorus now can only be included as an active personage; and where its presence as such is not required, in the future it must seem to us superfluous and disturbing, since its ideal interest in the action will have passed completely to the Orchestra, and there be manifested in continual but never troubling presence'. Richard Wagner, 'Music of the Future (Zukunftmusik)', in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, trans. William Ashton Ellis, iii (London: Kegan Paul, 1894), 338.

[37] It would be interesting to follow the reception of Wagner's views on ancient Greece by Greek composers and musicologists of the first half of the twentieth century, such as musicologist and music critic Dionysios Giatras and his views expressed in a long article of 1952 published in four parts (Part I: Dionysios Giatras, 'Archaia

So, music's role, as subservient to words – a dominant view in Greece both in theory and practice – was opposed to the employment of the operatic genre for productions of ancient dramas, although this genre also took into consideration, since its birth, the important question of how ancient tragedy may be revived. This can be explained briefly as such: Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, ancient tragedy was perceived as an emblematic work of art because it related Greece with its glorious distant past. The genre which was gradually believed to 'transfer' Greek antiquity's ideals on modern Greek stage, with all the nationalist undertones implied by them, was national theatre and not opera.[38] Opera, after all, was a new 'imported' art genre in the mainland nineteenth-century Greece, and it thus created links with European culture. By no means, therefore, could it be considered suitable for creating a unique, purely Greek national culture.[39]

Such convictions were highlighted in the interwar era; we are informed by music critiques and other written material of that era that, even in Athens, where the majority of operatic activities were taking place, opera was foreshadowed by the theatre. The latter was considered to be the 'heart' of the Greek civilisation, being a 'natural' outcome of the historical development of ancient Greek tragedy. As a characteristic example, I refer to Iōannēs Metaxas's declaration, in 1939, that theatre is the pure national art of Greece, from ancient times onwards.[40] It is no coincidence, therefore, that for productions of ancient drama, operatic forms were systematically discouraged since the beginning of the nineteenth century.[41]

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tragōdia kai Vagkneriko lyriko drama' (Ancient Tragedy and Wagnerian Lyric Drama), *Mousikē kinēsis,* 47 (September 1952), 11–13; Part II: 48 (October 1952), 3–6; Part III: 49 (November 1952), 3–5; Part IV: 50 (December 1952), 11–13). Equally interesting are the views of Alexandra Lalaounē (1894–1974), one of the first Greek women musicologists and music journalists, articulated in one of her articles of 1955: (Part I: Alexandra Lalaouni, 'Ē mousikē stēn archaia tragōdia' (Music in Ancient Tragedy), *Mousikē kinēsis,* 82 (August 1955), 1–2; Part II: 83 (September 1955), 4–5). The 1952 review by the theatre critic M. Karagatsēs (pseudonym of Dēmētrios Rodopoulos) referring to the stage production of *Electra* by stage director Dēmētrēs Rontērēs and composer Dimitri Mitropoulos is also of particular interest (M. Karagatsēs, 'Ē "Ēlektra" sto Ethniko Theatro' ('Electra' at the National Theatre), *Vradynē,* 17 October 1952). This issue falls beyond the scope of the present essay but I have analysed it in a separate study (Anastasia Siopsi, 'Who is the "Rightful" Inheritor of Ancient Culture? Ancient Greece, Modern Greece and Richard Wagner', *History Research*, 2/4 (April 2012), 243–255.

[38] At that era, the strongest movement against the monarchy found its voice in national theatre while being opposed to Italian opera, owing to the palace's and the aristocracy's support for, and promotion of, the latter genre.

[39] According to the above, there are reasons, which are rooted historically, for the continuous juxtaposition of the operatic genre with national theatre, which should have ancient drama as a model. Naturally, in the framework of national drama historical drama and patriotic tragedy shoulder the task of substantiating the existence of the nation in the remotest possible past; for modern Greeks this past was Greek antiquity.

[40] See Iōannēs Metaxas, 'Ē kallitechnikē paragōgē' (The Artistic Production), *Ethnos*, 25 April 1939.

[41] I should also mention another cultural characteristic which strengthens this Greek attitude to operatic forms diachronically: that of the importance of language, which is evident in the continuous evolution of modern Greek culture. In the formation of 'national consciousness' Greek literature took up the role of the guardian of tradition and its works were received as national treasures. In Greek culture, music and poetry were interlinked for centuries in the form of folk songs. Modern Greek poetry, in fact, had begun with song, not only with the sung poetry of the oral tradition (the *dēmotika*) but also with poets such as Solomos, Kalvos, Palamas and Sikelianos looking to that rich tradition for models as they began to write poetry for the first time in the spoken language of modern Greece. According to these lines of reasoning, we can understand why the Greek character

Since the 1960s, composers wrote operas based on texts from ancient dramas and comedies. A few of them are Xenakis, Antoniou, Couroupos, Kounadis and Mikis Theodorakis. But there is a respect to the balance between text and music by most of these composers.[42]

To mention only two characteristic examples, in the 1980s and 1990s, Theodorakis wrote what he himself named, in a Wagnerian fashion, as a 'Tetralogy', that is, four operas entitled *Medea* (1988–1989), *Electra* (1992), *Antigone* (1996) and *Lysistrata* (1999). In order to stress the lyrical and melodic character of these compositions he did not think of them as operas but as 'lyric tragedies'. Theodorakis refers to them not as operas but as sung poetry, or, sung tragedy, thus emphasising on the importance of words as a 'better' representative of our cultural identity. It goes without saying, given the numerous statements of the composer himself, that Theodorakis's intention was to articulate a deeply Greek character through these works.

The second composer I will refer to is Couroupos, who has also written music for ancient tragedies and comedies, some of them in the form of operas. One example is his opera *Iokasti* (from *Oresteia*) where the composer is making an effort to strike a balance between words and music by preserving their autonomous roles in a kind of contrapuntal structure. It is important to mention that he himself uses the term 'lyric tragedy', in the same fashion as Theodorakis did, as I mentioned before. Couroupos believes in the ancient Greek ideal of creating a perfect balance between text, music and dance.

Conclusion

In conclusion, music written for productions of ancient drama in modern Greece did not derive from the mainstream of the European operatic tradition but from the blending of contemporary musical idioms with elements of the folk musical tradition. The use of symphonic music in productions of ancient dramas was introduced as early as the interwar period; however, characteristics such as the folk Byzantine musical traditions, non-Western elements, a more lyrical character due to respect of the words, the use of magnetic tapes and electronic sounds, and other experimental techniques formed alternative approaches to ancient drama as musical theatre.

A very important characteristic of this music is the way it reflects the coexistence, or, the juxtaposition, of Greece's Western and Eastward orientation. In music there is not enough memory to be recovered from the ancient years, which would allow the 'images' of antiquity to achieve a certain degree of authenticity. While we have quite sufficient knowledge of the preserved tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, we know very

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was thought to be better articulated in ancient tragedy by means of language and, also, why it should be rooted in tradition in order to depict the Greek 'soul'. This attitude is still quite influential in productions of ancient dramas in Greece.

[42] For a more detailed discussion of the issue of music written for ancient dramas in modern Greece of the last decades of the twentieth century, see Siopsi, 'Music and the Scene'.

little about music, since the very few surviving documents that have come down to us are in an incomplete state. Thus, they could not serve as objects of imitation for musicians in the same way that tragedies did for the writers of the text. Consequently, the images of antiquity in music and the inner tension between East and West can only but reflect the hermeneutics of the notion of 'present', which involve the geographical and cultural location of twentieth-century Greece between East and West.

Rebetiko and Aristophanes:
The Music Composed by Theofrastos Sakellaridis
for *The Ecclesiazusae* (1904, Nea Skēnē, Athens, Greece)

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ABSTRACT: The performance of Aristophanes' *The Ecclesiazusae* in 1904 by the Nea Skēnē theatre group is one of the most important in modern Greek Theatre. It proved, however, to be a big scandal. As the young composer Theofrastos Sakellaridis (1883–1950) tried to update the ancient comic dance *kordax* (cordax), he was criticised for using a certain modern Greek dance form named *zeibekikos*, which was reputedly of Turkish origin, and was used by the Greek underworld in its urban folk songs named *rebetika*.[1] Thus, the press rated that Sakellaridis spoiled the spirit of the ancient comedian. Research into the reviews published in the newspapers of the period reveals that the composer had actually not been given any other choice. The decision for the kind of music which was to be composed and finally played during the performance was taken by the director Kōnstantinos Chrēstomanos. Under the directions of Chrēstomanos, the incidental music for the performance of *The Ecclesiazusae* combined Wagnerian elements with those of the Greek folk musical tradition, both rural and urban, something that Greek critics and intellectuals could not accept. Adding to the provocation, he also presented the Sacred Rock of the Acropolis with the ruins of the Parthenon – including Plaka's humble houses of 1904 – as a backdrop. This use of antiquity was one of the most radical in modern theatre. The music in Aristophanes' performance would become an issue related to national cultural identity in contemporary Greece, as there was a controversy over the appropriateness of Eastern or Western influences.

In 1900 Kōnstantinos Chrēstomanos (1867–1911) arrived from Vienna and settled in Athens. As a scholar, poet and playwright he was already famous for a number of reasons. He had experienced firsthand the legendary Vienna of the *fin-de-siècle*; he was co-editor of a quarterly review, with contributions by Karl Kraus, Adolf Loos and Oscar Wilde.[2] A play of his had been published there with a cover by Gustav Klimt;[3] some of his *Orphische Lieder*

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[1] 'The *rebetika* are Greek songs associated with an urban low-life milieu frequented by *rebetes*, or *manges*, streetwise characters of shady repute, many of whom smoked hashish. The genre occupies a similar place in Greek culture to that of the tango in Argentina or to flamenco in Spain. […] Influenced by the popular music of the late Ottoman Empire, the *rebetika* are considered to have reached their characteristic form after a massive influx of refugees following the exchange of populations at the end of the Turkish-Greek War of 1919–22. […] Most *rebetika* songs were composed in one of three dance rhythms: the *zeibekiko*, a solo male dance (2 + 2 + 2 + 3); the *hasapiko* or "butcher's dance" in 2/4 or 4/4; and the *tsifteteli*, or "belly dance", in 2/4 or 4/4'. Gail Holst-Warhaft, 'Rebetika', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, xx (2nd edn., London: MacMillan, 2001), 906–907.

[2] *Wiener Rundschau, Zeitschrift für Kultur und Kunst* (Vienna Review: Newspaper for Culture and Art). The other co-editor was Felix Rappaport. This quarterly review ran for five issues between 1896 and 1901.

[3] Kōnstantinos Chrēstomanos, *Die graue Frau* (The Gray Woman) (Vienna: Konegen, 1898).

(Orphic Songs) poems[4] had been set to music.[5] But the perfect passport for a triumphant entry into the secular and literary salons of Athens was a book that he had written, which had provoked a scandal with an international impact too. During the lifetime of Elisabeth of Austria – the lonely Empress, more popularly known as Sissy – he was occasionally of service to her as a tutor, reading ancient Greek poets and dramatists to her. After her assassination in 1898 he published his *Tagebuchblätter,* a kind of diary of these moments.[6] The details of her life and of the Habsburg Royal Court rattled the Austrian authorities who asked the young artist to leave the country and to forget his plans of having the second volume of these diaries published.

In February of 1901, Chrēstomanos invited a group of artists and authors to the Dionysus Theatre in Athens, and in his manifesto he presented them his vision: the renaissance of Greek theatre and drama.[7] The same autumn a theatre group under his direction started performing and the effect of its activities was strongly felt at once. Three years later, during August 1904, Chrēstomanos presented Aristophanes' *The Ecclesiazusae* (Assemblywomen). In this paper, after a short discussion of the other two ancient drama performances of his Nea Skēnē troupe, we will focus on this performance and the role of music in it, highlighting, more specifically, the use of music and of antiquity in general, as a provocative and modernistic option in ancient drama staging.

The group began its career in ancient drama in November 1901 with a promising production of Euripides' *Alcestis.* That production revealed many of the director's perspectives on a strong relationship between ancient tragedy and European art music, a combination that seemed necessary for staging this kind of theatre. The impact of the ideas of Richard Wagner is obvious; the figure of the composer 'of the homeland of the North' had already made its presence felt, in the abovementioned Chrēstomanos's manifesto, some months earlier.[8] For *Alcestis*, Chrēstomanos used parts of Gluck's eponymous opera. He employed a Wagnerian orchestra, rich in brass wind instruments; he restricted the violins to the role of livening up the atmosphere, just before vigorous and plethoric Hercules arrives.[9] Furthermore, he combined this orchestra with a solo organ playing from backstage, assigned to underscore the intense sentimental fluctuations, with pieces like the 'Religious

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[4] Kōnstantinos Chrēstomanos, *Orphische Lieder* (Orphic Songs) (Vienna: Konegen, 1899).

[5] Hans Schmitt, *Lieder für verschiedene Stimmen Op. 69 No. 2. Das innere Schweigen. Gedicht von Christomanos (Für tiefemittlere Stimme)* (Vienna: Doblinger, n.d.).

[6] Constantin Christomanos, *Tagebuchblätter*, i (Wien: Perles, 1899) <http://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/php/pdf_pager. php?rec=/metadata/2/1/9/metadata-194-0000095.tkl&do=199863.pdf&pageno=5&width=371&height= 496&maxpage=295&lang=el>, accessed 11 May 2011.

[7] Kōnstantinos Chrēstomanos, 'Eisēgēsis pros tous en tō theatrō tou Dionysou synelthontas idrytas tēs Nēas Skēnēs' (Prelection to the Founders of the Nea Skēnē Theatre Troupe Summoned in the Dionysus Theatre), *Nea Estia*, 70/ 826 (1961), 1626–1627
<http://www.ekebi.gr/magazines/ShowImage.asp?file=98578&code=0180>, accessed 21 May 2011.

[8] Ibid. 1627.

[9] 'Ē prōtē tēs Neas Skēnēs, Ē epitychia tēs Alkēsteōs, Ē metaphrasis, ē ypokrisis, ē moysikē' (The Premiere of Nea Skēnē, *Alcestis*' Success; Translation, Acting, Music), *To Asty*, 23 November 1901, 1.

March' from Gluck's *Alceste* (Act I scene iii) and a Passacaglia.[10] The presence of the organ – more dominant during the scene of the main heroine's death on stage – set a peculiar tone in the show, totally unprecedented in Greece until then, although Wagner's music and thought had begun to make their impact strongly felt in Athens in the early twentieth century.

Thus, the director also revealed the erratic way in which the ideas and music of the German composer were used during the premiere of his rival group, the conservative – if not retrograde – Royal Theatre, which made its opening night less than a week after *Alcestis'* premiere.[11] However, the main function of music in *Alcestis* was to remove, or even neutralise, every space-time dimension from the frame of the play, according to the dictates of Symbolism. The play does not take place in ancient Thessaly any more, but in a nowhere land out of time. The scene depicts a Mycenaean palace with three gates. Located on the right, the well-known Lions' Gate of Mycenae was also depicted on stage. An alley, with a cypress among other real trees, completed the set. With the exception of one or two reviews,[12] which wondered how Admetos in Thessaly could have had the famous gate of Mycenae in his court and how the lions could have lain there with their heads worn or broken, the way they actually were in 1901, the critics accepted Chrēstomanos's directorial innovation. This, however, did not mean they were also ready to accept his general liberal point of view. Their wish was to see on stage a magnificent representation of the ancient world, the world of their ancestors, even at the price of sacrificing historical accuracy and truth.

Grēgorios Xenopoulos, a major young critic and, at the same time, secretary of administration of the troupe, suggested that it would have been better if the director had adopted the French adaptation of the play by Alfred Gassier that had been presented in the Odeon Theatre in Paris during the years 1889–1890. That performance

> παρέστησε την Άλκηστιν εν αγνοία του Αδμήτου θυσιαζομένην υπέρ αυτού και παρά την θέλησίν του αποθνήσκουσαν· και την αγρίαν δε εκείνην σκηνήν, την μεταξύ πατρός και υιού, της οποίας η μετάφρασις του κ. Χρηστομάνου ηύξησε την τραχύτητα και την αγριότητα, περιώρισεν ο Γάλλος εις ολίγους ανωδύνους στίχους.[13]

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[10] It is unknown if it was Gluck's Passacaglia, the one from *Orfeo ed Euridice* for example, or any other one like the extremely popular Passacaglia and Fugue in C minor, BWV 582, by Johann Sebastian Bach, which was suitable, being written for an organ.

[11] The playbill of the Royal Theatre's opening night is indicative: First Part: 1. *National Anthem*, by Nikolaos Mantzaros (Orchestra); 2. *Flora Mirabilis*, by Spyridon Samaras (Orchestra, fragment); 3. *Maria Doxapatrē*, Monologue from the fifth act of Dēmētrios Vernardakēs's drama; 4. *Lohengrin*, by Richard Wagner (Orchestra, fragment). Second Part: 1. *Carmen*, by Georges Bizet (Orchestra, fragment); 2. *O thanatos tou Perikleous* (Pericles' Death), comedy, by Dēmētrios Koromēlas; 3. *Songe d'amour après le bal* (*Liebestraum nach dem Balle*) Intermezzo (Love Dream after the Ball), Op. 356, by Alfons Freiherr von Czibulka (Orchestra); 4. 'Danse des heures' (Dance of the Hours) from *La Gioconda*, by Amilcare Ponchielli (Orchestra). Third Part : *Zēteitai ypērētes* (Servant Wanted) comedy, by Charalampēs Anninos.

[12] Pikman, 'Apo ta paraskēnia' (From the Backstage), *Nykteris*, A/30, 23 December 1901, 2; N. Ep. [Nikolaos Episkopopoulos], 'Ē Nēa Skēnē' (The Nēa Skēnē), *Neon Asty,* 30 July 1902, n.p.n.

[13] Ephē Vapheiadē, 'O Grēgorios Xenopoulos kai ē *Alkēstis* tēs Neas Skēnēs' (Grēgorios Xenopoulos and the Performance of *Alcestis* by the Nea Skēnē Troupe), in Nikēphoros Papandreou and Ephē Vapheiadē (eds.),

presented Alcestis dying without her husband's knowledge of her sacrifice for him and, finally, against his will. The savage scene between father and son becomes even crueler through the adaptation of Chrēstomanos, while the Frenchman [Gassier] has limited its scope in some gentle verses.

In the same spirit, there were lively reactions to the appearance of the figure of Death, which some critics would have preferred to have seen closer to depictions of ancient pottery[14] and others closer to the respective Christian icons.[15]

The figure of Death with his black wings and his mortal spear, dominated the performance. The source of inspiration for the director was, however, extremely different from the realm suggested to him by the critics. A few weeks before *Alcestis*' premiere, Chrēstomanos wrote an article in a Greek art journal on Gustav Klimt and his work, focusing on his famous 'Faculty Paintings' (1901–1907), particularly *Medicine* (1901), whose main theme is the dipole Death and Life.[16] And the Lions' Gate he used in his set, refers directly to the play *La Città Morta* (The Dead City, 1896), by Gabriele D'Annunzio, launching a strange stage intertextuality.[17] In the drama of the Italian aesthete the action unfolds in contemporary Argos, and the Lions' Gate of ancient Mycenae is clearly presented as part of the scenery in the background. This sounds natural, as the main plot of the play is associated with the excavations in the necropolis of Mycenae and the strange relationship between an archaeologist and three more persons, who follow him to Greece for the excavations. The Life-Death dipole is underlined by the corresponding ancient-modern Greece contrast, as for the Italian author the ancient city remains alive while modern Greece seems dead.

Although Chrēstomanos had already classified Athens of his time a 'dead city' in an article of about the same period,[18] it is obvious that both the spectators and the critics did not even discuss such an interpretation of either D'Annunzio's drama or the performance of *Alcestis* directed by Chrēstomanos. The audience was rather pleased, if not flattered, by the magnificent and historically-accurate representation of the ancient Greek world. In 1903, for the staging of Sophocles' *Antigone* Chrēstomanos used Felix Mendelssohn's well known incidental music *Antigone*, Op. 55, a work that had been considered an inviolable rule for the Greek stage until then. The performance made a strong impression as the director used the heroine's grave as a setting for part of the performance, something that was considered disrespectful to the classicising rules of the presentation of tragedy.

Zētēmata istorias tou neoellēnikou theatrou, Meletes aphierōmenes ston Dēmētrē Spathē (Historical Issues of the New Hellenic Theatre. Studies in Honour of Dēmētrēs Spathēs) (Hērakleion: Crete University Press, 2007), 255–256.

[14] Xenopoulos again was one of them. Ibid.

[15] 'Sēmeiōseis Athēnaiou, O Thanatos' (Notes of an Athenian, Death), *To Asty*, 23 November 1901, n.p.n.

[16] K. Ch. 'Eikastikai technai' (Visual Arts), *Panathēnaia*, 1/16 (1901), 160.

[17] Additionally, the balanced combination of extensive parts of music with equally extended scenes and acts in prose in *Alcestis* seems to follow the corresponding experiments of Gabriele D'Annunzio with plays such as *Francesca da Rimini*, creating a hybrid genre.

[18] Kōnstantinos Chrēstomanos, 'To Chaos' (Chaos), *To Asty*, 3 July 1901, 1.

The next year Chrēstomanos presented *The Ecclesiazusae* of Aristophanes, for the first time in contemporary Europe. Provocative again, he was blamed for a courageous innovation which his critics seemed unwilling to accept: in order to represent and revive an ancient comic dance, the *kordax* (cordax), he used, among other kinds of music, urban folk music, including *rebetika* songs. Although extremely popular among lower classes, *rebetika* were not widely acceptable socially. Their existence, after a period of borderline tolerance, had then in the early twentieth century been faced with great disapproval or contempt by newspaper editors. Their use as stage music for ancient drama was, of course, out of the question.

Up to then, there had been three main legitimate fields from which to draw inspiration, in order to compose stage music for ancient drama. The first one was ancient Greek music, little known, however, through fragmentary inscriptions. The second one was the pantheon of Western classical music. The schema became tripartite during the last decades of the nineteenth century, when a third pole was added: Byzantine music.[19] But, as a conscious effort was evolving to form a pure and distinct national identity, the term 'Byzantine music' was starting to broaden to include Greek traditional music too, in a sense of continuity with antiquity. If this did not seem very convincing, traditional music could at least serve as an additional link in the process of connecting modern Greece with its ancient past. A typical example of this was the music composed for the staging of Greek tragedies for the Association for the Staging of Ancient Greek Drama, which Giōrgos Mistriōtēs (1840–1916) directed. However, both in the music for these performances – composed by the Byzantine chanter Joannes Theophrastos Sakellarides (1853–1938) – and in the minds of almost all Greek composers and intellectuals at the time, only the rural – not the urban – folk music could be recognised as an important tradition, appropriate to facilitate the idea of continuity with antiquity. This fact reveals the problems of the abovementioned attempt at defining a national identity. The main problem of the contemporary urban folk music was the obvious influences from other cultures and other nations' music, something that complicated the continuity thesis.

Chrēstomanos had already used classical music for the staging of the two ancient tragedies he had presented. Realising however the specificity and the special needs of an Aristophanean staging, he finally adopted a totally different amalgam for *The Ecclesiazusae*: urban and rural popular music of his time, combined with music that tried to revive elements of the ancient Greek musical tradition, composed by a very young, almost unknown but talented artist, Theofrastos Sakellaridis (1883–1950), the promising son of the abovementioned composer of the Association for the Staging of Ancient Drama. Every piece of the music composed for *The Ecclesiazusae* provoked a scandal that erupted around the composer, for reasons such as the presence of musical accompaniment, which supposedly undermined the verses of the text. The main attack, however, concerned dances and

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[19] Panos Vlagopoulos, 'Explicit and Implicit Historical Models for the History of Music in Modern Greece', in Petros Pizanias (ed.), *The Greek Revolution of 1821: A European Event* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2011), 295–300.

specifically the way the ancient comic dance cordax was performed. Among other facts, Sakellaridis was blamed by two critics of two major newspapers (*Athēnai* and *Estia*) for the folkish nature of both the songs and the dances.[20] Although they were traditional rural and urban dances, it is obvious that these musical pieces had not yet persuaded everybody of their purity, one of them being termed as '*vlachikos*' and another one criticised as being very similar to 'the well-known Bulgarian dance'. This was considered desecration, and so was the accusation that the latter was performed in steps of '*pas de quatre*'. The two critics also claimed that during the second act a 'can-can' was performed.[21] The latter two dances were not only outlandish but were, furthermore, associated with the morally suspicious activities of travelling French and Italian operetta troupes. Last but not least, the appearance of a musical genre that never acquired the Greek identity as a whole, such as the *rebetiko* was, came to complete the sacrilege, if we trust the extremely aggressive theatre reviews. An *amanes*[22] and a *zeibekikos* dance provoked the critics and the issue now was not only national, but also social. These two samples of *rebetiko* song and dance respectively, because of their obvious origins from Ottoman Asia Minor, were also supposed to be products of a world – or rather of an underworld – which could not produce culture, of a mass of people unable to offer anything to modern Greek society, which at the time was trying to be established, a society whose only duty was to be educated, if not indoctrinated, through art in the values of the emerging bourgeoisie and middle class. One of the hostile critics suggested for *The Ecclesiazusae* that the ticket price should be greatly increased, so that lower-class people would be unable to watch the performance.[23] Elsewhere it is written that the atmosphere of the show was of such a bacchanal nature that the orchestra could have been replaced by a barrel organ.[24]

Soon, a major controversy erupted in the press and several apologetic letters appeared. The first came from the hand of the composer, trying to put the facts right. The dance was not really a *zeibekikos*, he explained, as it was written in 6/8 and not in the 9/8 of *zeibekikos*. He also clarified that the particular way in which the ancient cordax had been revived was something that had been requested by the director and the translator, after a thorough investigation of relevant scenes on ancient vases.[25] A whole series of four apologetic articles came from the translator of the play Polyvios Dēmētrakopoulos, who explained that the dances were original Greek traditional ones.[26] As for the cordax, however, he evaded

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[20] Theatēs [Geōrgios Pōp], 'Theatrikai selides, *Ai Ekklēsiazousai*, Entypōseis apo tēn prōtēn parastasin' (Theatrical Pages, *The Ecclesiazousae*, Impressions from the Premiere), *Athēnai*, 13 August 1904, 1. Theatēs [Emmanouēl Repoulēs], '*Ai Ekklēsiazousai*' (*The Ecclesiazousae*), *Estia*, 12 August 1904, 1.

[21] Ibid.

[22] *Amanes* is an oriental, modal, passive song, based on improvisation.

[23] 'Eis tēn N. Skēnēn' (In Nea Skēnē), *Athinai,* 16 August 1904, 2.

[24] Theatēs [Geōrgios Pōp], 1.

[25] Theofrastos Sakellaridēs, 'Grammata pros tēn Estian, Pōs etonisthē o Kordax' (Letters to Estia, How the Music for the Cordax was Composed), *Estia,* 13 August 1904, n.p.n.

[26] Polyvios Dēmētrakopoulos, 'Tourkokritikē epanastasis, oi Parekklēsiazontes' (Brutal Critic Riots, *The Ecclesiazusae* Spoilers), Part I: *Esperinē*, 14 August 1904, n.p.n.; Part II: *Esperinē*, 15 August 1904, n.p.n.; Part III: *Esperinē,* 16 August 1904, n.p.n. 'Aristophaneia kritika mnēmosyna' (Aristophanean Critic

explaining the dance's character, although he revealed his – and the director's – source of inspiration for its dance poses: a French edition of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* including more than a hundred photos of ancient vases and reliefs from different European museums.[27] That was the decade when major choreographers in Europe, such as Michel Fokine – following the paradigm of Isadora Duncan obviously – realised the value of ancient vases as a source of inspiration in an effort to revive contemporary dance. It is of no coincidence that during the first days of that year, 1904, Isadora Duncan finished her almost two-year stay in Greece following a dance performance which took place in Athens, in December 1903. On that night she experienced such a false warm reception from the audience and the King that she was persuaded to abandon both the house she had built in Athens and her plans to stay in Greece forever.[28]

It is obvious that the director's point of view was somewhat really revolutionary. His innovations were many, audacious and provocative. It was the first time in Greece, and perhaps worldwide, that a composer was commissioned by a director to draw inspiration from antiquity so as to write modern music for ancient comedy, fusing different kinds of music and forms, without disregarding contemporary urban folk and rural music. It is also innovative that he did not reject the *rebetiko*, although it belongs to a group of distinct national folk musical and dance genres (jazz, blues, fado, tango, flamenco, samba and rumba) all of which shared the characteristic that they developed in the margins of large urban centres, some of them in the ports, and were only very gradually legalised by the same societies that created them.

The idea of continuity with the ancient past was dealt a heavy blow not only by the vulgarity or the modern character of the music, but also due to another innovation: the peculiar use of the most emblematic monument of Greece, namely The Parthenon. The temple was depicted in Chrēstomanos's settings for *The Ecclesiazusae* in 1904, in the ruined state it actually was at the time. The setting also included Plaka's humble houses and the Anaphiōtika neighborhood. This caused an unbalanced reaction from the critics, who would rather have seen the Parthenon as it used to be in the days of Phidias. This ruined image of the Parthenon had been a controversial issue since the very first years of Greek Independence. In the 1830s the 'Sacred Rock of the Acropolis' became an archaeological site and the area around it was soon fenced off. Its condition, however, could not serve the purpose of forming a commonly accepted national identity. Numerous remains of different buildings on the site of the Acropolis negatively hindered the project. For example, situated inside the Parthenon – and used as an orthodox church during the Byzantine Empire, and as a Muslim mosque later – was the church of Panagia Athēniōtissa, a temple within a temple,

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Commemoration), *Esperinē,* 20 August 1904, n.p.n. The articles were found in Sakellaridis's scrap-book held in the Museum and Study Centre of the Greek Theatre (Athens) and are being used here for the first time.

[27] Aristophane, *Lysistrata, traduction nouvelle avec une introduction et des notes par Charles Zévort, édition ornée de plus de 100 gravures par Notor reproduites en couleurs d'après des documents authentiques des musées d'Europe* (Paris: Charpentier et Fasquelle, 1898).

[28] Isadora Duncan, *My Life* (New York: Award Books, 1966), 122.

which was demolished in 1842. In 1875 the Catalan tower of the Propylaea was also demolished. However, even this proved insufficient to ensure the purity of the monument, which heavily affected the nation's fragile identity.[29] Scholars have also remarked on the sensitivity most Greek photographers showed in the nineteenth and twentieth century when capturing the monument, as even the attire of a person captured by the camera could affect the character of the monument's depiction.[30]

At the turn of the century the special significance of the Parthenon as a monument and ancient Greek heritage in general dominated modern-Greek cultural life, including music and theatre. In 1897 the author Giannēs Campysēs sent the following note to Karl Dieterich (1869–1935):

Το βάρος των προγόνων μας είναι πολύ μεγάλο. Τ' όνομά τους και μόνο με πλακώνει, σα βουνό, σαν τον Όλυμπο! Δεν είμαι λέφτερος καθόλου κ' είμαι καταδικασμένος να είμαι αιώνια σκλάβος τους. Να κάμω τίποτα δεν μπορώ, γιατί είμ' απόγονος του Εβριπίδη. Η Ακρόπολη λάμπει κι ο Παρθενώνας, ατίμητο πετράδι της γιγάντιας αφτής κολώνας της ανθρωπότητας και των αιώνων, με θαμπώνει και με σκεπάζει! Ούτε να περπατήσω δεν μπορώ και μονάχα κλαίω … κλαίω γιατί είμαι ο ανάξιος απόγονος του μεγάλου προγόνου.[31]

The burden of our ancestors is immeasurable. Even to hear their names weighs upon me like a mountain, like Olympus! I am without freedom and condemned to be their eternal slave. I am powerless because I am Euripides' descendant. The Acropolis is a ray of light and the Parthenon, that priceless gem which is a foundation stone for humanity throughout the ages dazzles and overshadows me! I am unable even to walk and I am perpetually weeping … I weep because I am the unworthy descendant of such greatness.

Chrēstomanos himself referred to the monument in his manifesto, trying to relieve authors of these biases and make them write freely modernistic plays:

Δεν εννοώ οπισθοδρόμησιν επάνω εις τα βήματα των αιώνων· δεν ζητώ επειδή είμεθα Έλληνες να κτίσωμεν και πάλι Παρθενώνας. Ο Έλλην ποιητής δεν έχει ανάγκην να μεταγγίζη λέξεις και νοήματα εις ρυθμούς του Πινδάρου και της Σαπφούς, ρυθμούς τους οποίους ανέλαβον οι άνεμοι και τα κύματα που τους εγέννησαν. […] Ο Παρθενών δεν είναι ειμή το αφροστεφάνωμα του ελληνικού δημιουργικού πνεύματος […] και παν αφροστεφάνωμα πνεύματος είναι Παρθενών.[32]

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[29] Yannis Hamilakis, *The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology and National Imagination in Greece* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 85–98.

[30] Several speakers at the recent King's College congress on photography in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Greece remarked this. Indicatively: John Stathatos 'The Three-way Mirror: Photography as Recorder, Mirror and Model of Greek National Identity'; Aliki Tsirgialou, 'Photographing Greece in the Nineteenth Century'; Frederick Bohrer, 'Doors to the Past: W. J. Stillman (and Freud) on the Acropolis', papers given at the King's College Conference 'Greek (Hi)stories through the Lens: Photographs, Photographers and Their Testimonies', London, 8–11 June 2011.

[31] 'Anekdota grammata tou Kampysē (ston Karl Didrich)' (Unpublished Letters of Kampysēs to Karl Dietrich), *Noumas*, 123 (1904), 1–4.

[32] Kōnstantinos Chrēstomanos, 'Eisēgēsis pros tous en tō theatrō tou Dionysou synelthontas idrytas tēs Nēas Skēnēs', 1626.

> I'm not talking about retracing our steps backwards in the centuries, and I'm not asking you
> to build Parthenons because we are Greek. The Greek poet doesn't need to shape words or
> ideas in the rhythms of Pindar or Sappho, rhythms gone with the waves […] The Parthenon is
> the crowned peak of the creative Greek intellect […] and every crowned peak of the intellect
> is a Parthenon.[33]

It is obvious that for Chrēstomanos the Greek identity of the monument is not a self-evident fact. According to his manifesto, the monument has no national identity. It is rather part of a universal heritage. These ideas appear to be normal and obvious today, but for the majority of the residents of Athens during that period both these words of Chrēstomanos and this specific use of the Parthenon in the scenery of *The Ecclesiazusae* 'undercut the Parthenon's symbolic value as the single site or *topos* of Greek culture through the ages'.[34]

The Parthenon had taken a central symbolic position in the most important ideological and artistic conflict of the time: the language controversy. Thus this function of *topos* was not generally accepted. The fans of katharevousa (an artificially composed written language, invented to compromise between ancient and modern Greek) accepted it, exploiting the international recognition of the monument's artistic value in order to encourage the masses to support the nation's renaissance. In the theatre, these fans demanded the staging of ancient drama in the original text exclusively, and in 1903, when the Greek Royal Theatre dared to stage Aeschylus' *Oresteia* adapted, riots broke out, resulting in one dead protester. Chrēstomanos's performance of Sophocles' *Antigone,* translated into contemporary language, took place at exactly the same time as the riots. It is of no coincidence that in the hostile review of *The Ecclesiazusae* in *Estia* an opinion that ancient comedy should not be adapted into modern Greek was included. And it is also notable that the two authors of the most negative reviews were essentially politicians, in fact, members of parliament, rather than theatre critics.

On the other side of the language controversy, however, the fans of demotic language, the Parthenon became a symbol of the conservative ideology of their opponents, an anchor that prevented progressive people to step forward. In his play with the characteristic title *Zōntanoi kai pethamenoi* (Dead and Alive) Dēmētrēs Tankopoulos, the editor of *Noumas* journal – the ideological organ of fanatic demoticists – wrote:

> Αντίκρυ στην Ακρόπολη σε μέρος παρθένο από την ιστορία χτίζουμε το Ρωμαίικο
> δρακοντόπυργο εμείς. Εκεί μέσα θα κλειστούμε και θα πολεμήσουμε. Όλ' οι ζωντανοί
> θαρθούνε μια μέρα, μη σε νοιάζει, μαζί μας. Οι πεθαμμένοι ας ταμπουρωθούν ξανά σε
> κανένα ξυλένιο τειχί σιμά στον Παρθενώνα τους, όσο ναρθεί ο Πέρσης ναν τους κάψει.[35]

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[33] Gonda A. H. van Steen, *Venom in Verse: Aristophanes in Modern Greece* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 102.

[34] Ibid. Van Steen refers to *topos* in a Foucaultian sense.

[35] Dēmētrēs Tankopoulos, *Zōntanoi kai pethamenoi, Drama se tria merē, Ē Chrysaugē, diēgēma* (Dead and Alive: Drama in Three Parts. The Golden Dawn: Tale) (Athens: Noumas, 1905), 61
<http://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/php/pdf_pager.php?rec=/metadata/0/2/2/metadata-924aa3d9fb4eadc41ee3cda8575ac799_1247468611.tkl&do=146715_w.pdf&pageno=32&pagestart=1&width=800&height=591&maxpage=41&lang=en>, accessed 5 May 2011.

Opposite the Acropolis, in a place devoid of history, we build our Greek fortress. We will lock ourselves in there and we will fight. Every living man will join us, you'll see. Let the dead fortify themselves again in any wooden wall close to their Parthenon, until the Persians come and burn them.

Chrēstomanos found himself at the centre of a controversy. Neither conflicting party could accept the real condition of the monument; one of them would prefer it renovated, and the other one would prefer it even demolished.[36] Chrēstomanos's perspective was totally different. In his *Tagebuchblätter* he extolled the beauty of the ruins and the wealth of emotions they aroused, referring to the painting of Edward Burne-Jones *Love among the Ruins* (1894) and representing the ideas of aestheticism.[37] In his two previous productions of ancient dramas he had proved how important a set depicting a monument could be. However, it must not be forgotten that the use of these monuments on his stage was very different from what scrupulous critics could accept. Obviously, Chrēstomanos did not agree with the treatment of a monument as a sacred still place, an approach that he also embraced while using ancient drama texts on stage.

In *The Ecclesiazusae*, the style in which Tēlemachos Lepeniōtēs, the male actor who played the role of Praxagora, recited her/his verses at the lantern in the opening scene was one more little shock for the critics, as it satirised the usual pompous style of acting in ancient drama. In the preface of the play's edition in 1904 the translator's directives describe precisely how the actor had to recite it: 'Ο μονόλογος ούτος της Πραξαγόρας πρέπει να απαγγέλεται υπό του ηθοποιού όσον οίον τε πομπωδώς, διότι διά τούτου παρωδεί και σατυρίζει ο Αριστοφάνης το ύφος των τραγικών ποιητών' (This monologue of Praxagora is to be recited by the actor in the most pompous manner because in this way Aristophanes satirises and parodies the tragic poets' style).[38]

Moreover, the fact that Blepyros, while trying to find somewhere to defecate, selects the middle of the street (and therefore of the stage) as a suitable place for his purposes, aggravated the situation.

Chrēstomanos's choices regarding choreography were similar. In his manifesto he used Wagner's ideas on the *Gesamtkunstwerk* with admirable audacity, ranking dance first among equivalent elements of ancient drama (lyric poetry and mimesis) and among the arts

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[36] Ibid. The conflict of views reflected the gap between two purely nationalistic tendencies. The first one called for a utopian refuge in an antiquity matrix of Western culture, a culture which, it believed, rightfully belonged to Greek antiquity. In order for this figure to work, every trace from the unworthy modern Greek intellectual and daily life had to be hidden. The second one preferred a more recent period of Greek history as an ideal model: the struggle of 1821, when uneducated brave warriors, and not pedantic intellectuals, starred.

[37] For similar ideas among the greatest musicians in Europe, among the founders of the Greek National School of music, and about the term *Trümmerästhetik* and its relation to *Jugendstil* see Olympia Frankou-Psychopaidē, *Ē Ethniki Scholē Mousikēs. Provlēmata ideologias* (The Greek National School of Music. Problems of Ideology) (Athens: Idryma Mesogeiakōn Meletōn, 1990), 85.

[38] Aristophanous, *Ecclēsiazousai,* trans. Polyvios Dēmētrakopoulos (Athens: Saliveros, 1904), 7.

in general. And when his ideas on this issue were made concrete, he expressed his equal admiration both for the great German composer and for the modern dancers:

> Και όταν ακούωμεν ότι επεφάνη εξ Ανατολών, ως κάποιο μετέωρον, ορχηστρίς, ο χορός της οποίας είναι αυτόχρημα ποίησις, κατά την αληθή σημασία της λέξεως, δράμα δηλαδή και μουσική εν ταυτώ, όταν μανθάνωμεν ότι από την πατρίδα του Βορρά εξωρμήθη μουσουργός, του οποίου η μουσική δημιουργεί κόσμους ψυχικούς, […] τότε υποθέτομεν ότι τα κύματα και οι άνεμοι ενεσαρκώθησαν εις μοναδικά τινά πλάσματα διά να αποδώσουν εις την ανθρωπότητα τα απολεσθέντα της μυστικά.[39]

> And when we hear that, just like a shooting star, a female dancer from the East appeared, whose dance is poetry indeed, drama and music unified, according to the true sense of the word; when we learn that from the homeland of the North a composer rushed ahead, whose music creates spiritual worlds, […] then we presume that the winds and the waves were incarnated in unique creatures, in order to render to humanity its lost secrets.

Yet, what Chrēstomanos really meant with this phrase about the female dancer will remain a lost secret, indeed. Which woman did he have in mind when he likened her to a star? Although the East is clearly mentioned as the homeland of this star, the theatre historian Giannēs Siderēs concludes with certainty that Chrēstomanos refers to a European dancer;[40] this leads us to look for the mysterious figure among the famous female dancers of his time, like Ruth St. Denis, Ida Rubinstein, Loie Fuller or Sada Yacco; we have already also mentioned the obvious influence of Isadora Duncan on his work, although Siderēs rejects this thesis.[41]

Let us add a suggestion here. From the time of the manifesto in the Theatre of Dionysus in 1901 until the performance of *The Ecclesiazusae* in August 1904, two events occurred that may have affected the director's point of view on direction and choreography. In 1903 Chrēstomanos's mentor Gabriele D'Annunzio published his *Maia*, a poetry collection which utilises the experiences of his first trip to Greece during 1895. Among other instances, D'Annunzio converted his visit to a wretched brothel in Patras, during a brief stop of their ship in the port of the capital of the Peloponnese, into a cynical poem.[42] His hypothetical aim was to search for the traces of *Belle Hélène* in contemporary Greece, but the choice of place shows that the failure of the project was entirely certain, if not preplanned. The publication of the book had not gone unnoticed in Greece and its content and style provoked some complaints. The second significant event in the formation of

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[39] Chrēstomanos, 'Eisēgēsis pros tous en tō theatrō tou Dionysou synelthontas idrytas tēs Neas Skēnēs', 1627.

[40] Giannēs Siderēs, 'Kōnstantinou Chrēstomanou, Eisēgēsis pros tous en tō theatrō tou Dionysou synelthontas idrytas tēs Neas Skēnēs' (Kōnstantinos Chrēstomanos's Prelection in the Dionysus Theatre to the Founders of the Nea Skēnē Theatre Troupe), *Deltio theatrou,* 1/4 (1950), 4.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Philippos Pappas, 'Prōta stoicheia gia tēn parousia tou Gampriele D' Anountsio stēn Ellada (taxidia, proslēpsē, epidraseis, metaphraseis)' (First Evidence for the Presence of Gabriele D'Annunzio in Greece (Travel, Reception, Influences, Translations)), postgraduate dissertation (University of Crete, 2005) <http://elocus.lib.uoc.gr/dlib/1/c/b/metadata-dlib-13ea583b8e924da363fd5b0dbcc288f3_1242722021.tkl>, accessed 10 May 2011.

Chrēstomanos's choice of direction of ancient drama was the presence and the dance performance of Isadora Duncan in Athens.

As we look again into *The Ecclesiazusae* performance, we realise that although the evidence is rich, most of it is blurry or unreliable and it is extremely difficult to conclude on the style of the choreography. Among the recently found testimonials, a letter from the translator acquires special interest for the information provided to us, as it supplements the written sources with an image. Polyvios Dēmētrakopoulos proposed a particular photograph of an illustrated French *Lysistrata's* edition that we have already mentioned, as an ideal source for the public to understand how the comic dance was performed.[43] Dēmētrakopoulos claimed that the aim was to use Greek traditional dances in order to revive the ancient cordax.

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Image. The photograph suggested by *The Ecclesiazusae*'s translator Polyvios Dēmētrakopoulos in order to help his readers form an idea about the way the ancient dance cordax was performed[44]

In the picture he recommended, taken from an ancient vase, six female dancers perform their dance individually in ecstatic postures, some of them with bare breasts. If we search among Greek traditional dances for a solo dance, it is almost certain that we will be led to the field of *rebetika*. The *zeibekikos* was – and remains even today – the most widespread solo dance. It is impressive that in the latter letter Dēmētrakopoulos does not explicitly state that the dance was not a *zeibekikos*; he just claims that it could have been any of the Greek traditional dances. Let us note here that the translator proved to be one of the major contributors of the trend of using *rebetika* in the theatrical life of Athens, in combination with traditional songs, believing it to be a part of Greek traditional music without distinguishing it from any other genre.[45]

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[43] Dēmētrakopoulos, 'Aristophaneia kritika mnēmosyna', n.p.n.

[44] Aristophane, *Lysistrata*, 154–155 <http://archive.org/stream/lysistrata00arisuoft#page/154/mode/2up>, accessed 20 August 2013.

[45] Polyvios T. Dēmētrakopoulos, *Ta tragoudēmena 1905–1921* (Songs, 1905–1921) (Athens: Dēmētrakos, 1922).

The main problem in accepting the case that the cordax of the 1904 *The Ecclesiazusae's* performance was inspired both by ancient pottery and the *zeibekikos*, as the critics claimed, is that in the picture we see women dancing, while we know that the *zeibekikos* is a male dance. We must not forget, however, that a different practice was followed in the *café-amans* of this era. In these oriental versions or variations on European *café-chantants* or *café concerts*, female dancers used to perform their traditional oriental song and dance simultaneously (usually, *zeibekiko*, *hasapiko*, or *tsamiko*). Moreover, we have several descriptions of such 'performances' where the female dancers also used pantomime in their gestures, poses and movements, in order to enliven their dance.[46] This point brings us back to the enigmatic wording of Chrēstomanos's manifesto about the 'female dancer from the East' who unifies the separate arts of song, dance and acting. If he was speaking literally when he talked about a woman who united in her dance the three different arts, only the Japanese Sada Yacco – among the 'European' female dancers – meets the requirements of the person we are searching for, as she was the only one that could sing while dancing and acting. Could then this enigmatic woman be one of these humble dancers in the Athens *café-amans*? We have neither enough space nor sufficient documentation to thoroughly discuss the issue here and come to a conclusion right now.

The contrast between the grotesque and the sublime was particularly widespread amongst fans of aestheticism, and Chrēstomanos's case was not an exception. During the performance of *Alcestis*, the primitive way in which he presented Hercules sparked controversy. In another case, he had recommended as a model for his actors the popular self-taught actor Evangelos Pantopoulos (1860–1913).[47] Another contrast whose influence is obvious in his work is that between East and West. In any case, the cult of a mystical Orient was prevalent in Vienna of the *fin-de-siècle* and also, on a more personal level, Chrēstomanos himself travelled widely during the last two years of the nineteenth century, staying in different countries in Europe and the Mediterranean, not only in Paris, but also in Tunis and the Ottoman Salonika. He was also learning Persian and Arabic, and his plans were to end his life in Palmyra.[48]

The fact is that during the staging of *The Ecclesiazusae* Chrēstomanos was in search of a new way to direct Aristophanes' comedy, combining text, music, song and dance, the latter two being new elements that he used for the first time in his work on ancient drama. And the incidental music serving his direction would be a combination of Western art music and traditional Greek. His great innovation was that he was willing to utilise both urban and rural folk music, unconcerned about the ideology of continuity and the biases of the

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[46] Thodōros Chatzēpantazēs, *Tēs Asiatidos mousēs erastai, Ē akmē tou athēnaikou kaphe aman sta chronia tēs vasileias tou Geōrgiou A', Symvolē stē meletē tēs proistorias tou Rempetikou* (Lovers of the Asiatic Muse, The Peak of the Athenian Cafes-amans in the Reign of George I. Contribution to the Study of the Prehistory of the rebetiko) (Athens: Stigmē, 1986), 152–153.

[47] Myrtō Maurikou, *O Kōnstantinos Chrēstomanos kai ē Nea Skēnē* (Kōnstantinos Chrēstomanos and the Nea Skēnē Troupe) (Athens: Phexēs, 1964), 103.

[48] W. [Kōstēs Palamas], 'Prosōpa kai zētēmata. O logos peri Chrēstomanou' (Persons and Issues. About Kōnstantinos Chrēstomanos), *Empros*, 21 July 1915, 1.

necessity to use high forms of music for ancient drama. His recipe points towards the contemporaneous European National Schools of music, although there were also some strong biases among their founders against urban folk music.[49] However, every attempt by Greek composers to form such a movement and present such works on stage, during the performance of an ancient drama, was treated mockingly, hostilely and derogatorily, as everybody recognised Western music only, for example Felix Mendelssohn and his Op. 55, as ideal for this genre. In his manifesto Chrēstomanos had described the gloomy state of art music in Greece. In his *Tagebuchblätter,* in the light of the description of the Empress's stay in Corfu, he freely expressed his admiration for both Greek traditional music and the monophonic Byzantine psalmody of the island's monasteries.

Now, during the staging of *The Ecclesiazusae*, he had the chance to apply on stage some of these aesthetic perceptions and preferences. The use of urban folk music in Aristophanes' comedy, although it seems natural today, was an innovation Greek composers could not freely accept. Their prejudices that in ancient drama they had to use only high art as incidental music led them again to imitate Western music. And the legitimate theoretical tripartite schema we mentioned, which included as possible fields from which to draw inspiration Greek antiquity, Byzantium and the Greek tradition, and finally Western Europe, was in fact a narrow one-way street that led exclusively straight to the latter direction. This notion was not limited to musicians but was more widespread. During the conflict over Sakellaridis's music for *The Ecclesiazusae*, the chief editor of the newspaper *Athēnai* advised all three parties of the performance – the director, translator and composer – to reject ancient pottery as a source of inspiration and follow both the representational paintings of European artists and the books of scholars.

The distinction between folk and art music was not a widely accepted notion. Many composers from the Ionian Islands utilised Greek folk musical elements in order to compose contemporary art music. The condition, however, was extremely different in Athens. Yet, it was exactly in this period that the situation began to change, although many biases remained. The first forerunner manifesto of the Greek National School of music stated these entanglements and contradictions clearly.[50] Geōrgios Lambelet (1875–1945), a composer who, among other musicians,[51] served for some months in the administrative department of Chrēstomanos's Nea Skēnē troupe, declared in his first articles on music in the journal *Panathēnaia* in November 1901, his absolute hostility to anything foreign, anything that comes from both the West and the East, even the Middle East and Asia Minor. He also

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[49] For such biases not only in Franz Liszt but also in Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály, see Grēgorēs Sēphakēs, *Mpela Mpartok kai dēmotiko tragoudi* (Béla Bartók and the Folk Song) (Heraklion: Crete University Press, 1997), 29–30.

[50] Geōrgios Lampelet, 'Ē ethnikē mousikē' (National Music), *Panathēnaia*, 3/26 (1901), 82–90, and 3/27 (1901), 127–131.

[51] For example the composers Laurentios Kamēlierēs (1874–1958), who was the Greek press's correspondent for the Wagner *Festspiele* from Bayreuth, and Iōannēs Psaroudas (1871–1953), who composed music of medieval style for the symbolist drama *Phaia kai Nymphaia* (Phaea and Nymphaea), that was staged by the troupe. See Vania Papanikolaou, 'Ē symvolē tēs Neas Skēnēs stēn exelixē tou neoellēnikou theatrou' (The Role of Nea Skēnē in the Evolution of Modern Greek Theatre), Ph.D. diss. (University of Crete, 2011), 415.

found a way to express his opposition to the musical choices of Chrēstomanos, with whom he had recently clashed, abandoning his Nea Skēnē troupe.[52] Lambelet rejected both the music of the Ionian Island composers – even the one of the Greek National Anthem – as being Italian-like, and the folk urban Greek songs from Smyrna as being Turkish, limiting Greekness in music to an extremely narrow field. In other words, one more crunch in the use of traditional music was that Greek composers regarded as traditional only a small part of such music.

This can sufficiently explain why Sakellaridis tried to refute the criticism that he had composed a *rebetiko* dance, although we are able – with some minor reservations – to accept it. In his attempt at reviving the ancient comic dance cordax under the directions of Chrēstomanos and Dēmētrakopoulos it seems that he was very close to the *zeibekiko*, even if he did not adopt the 9/8 metre and although he was disapproving of this kind of music throughout his life. The score is still missing but in his scrap-book, held in the Museum and Study Centre of the Greek Theatre in Athens, some enthusiastic reviews on the music of *The Ecclesiazusae* can be found, which makes us realise that in the maelstrom of the conflict and the attack from the two major newspapers, the real value of the musical score went unnoticed. Reviews from abroad praise the young composer, who managed to write incidental music for ancient drama combining elements of Wagner's music with others from the Greek tradition.[53] Testimonies to the existence of such elements in his music have also been supported by Greek sources.[54] These influences of Wagner's work appeared stronger in an intermezzo that the orchestra performed before the start of the last act, although it is not safe to come to conclusions on such issues without having the score in hand.

Even though the combination of the abovementioned elements should proclaim Sakellaridis a pioneer in the formation of a Greek National School of music, he was rather neglected, as after 1908 he concentrated almost exclusively on the composition of music for revues and the formation of the Greek operetta that became, also due to his activity, extremely popular. A recent musical analysis of *Vaphtistikos* (The Godchild, 1918),[55] his most popular operetta, revealed that he injected this genre not only with inspiration and talent, but also with some basic elements of the National School of music (modal scales for example), always interspersed with Wagnerian features (leitmotivs), still following the recipe that he had launched in the music for *The Ecclesiazusae*. Despite the fact that the representatives of the National School of music never considered him a valuable partner and even vehemently attacked him later, his work on Aristophanes seems to be the first incidental music composed for ancient drama in Greece, which exploits Wagner's work.

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[52] Geōrgios Lampelet, 'Ē magissa: melodramatikon dokimion eis mian praxin. Poiēsis kai mousikē D. Lauranka' (The Witch: A One-act Operatic Piece. Poetry and Music by D. Lavrangas), *Panathēnaia*, 3/25 (1901), 29–30.
[53] See *Vossische Zeitung* (Berlin), 27 August 1904.
[54] See *Esperinē*, 9 August 1904; *Kratos*, 15 August 1904; *Esperinē*, 8 September 1904.
[55] Thanasēs Trikoupēs, 'Theophrastou Sakellaridē (1882–1950): Operetta *Vaphtistikos*. Domē kai poiētiko periechomeno' (Theophrastos Sakellaridēs (1882–1950): *Vaphtistikos*, Operetta. Structure and Content), paper given at the conference 'Opereta: O chamenos thēsauros tēs ellēnikēs technēs' (Operetta: The Lost Treasure of Greek Art), Thessaloniki, 3 April 2011.

The man who proved more consistent in his views on Greek music, despite constant attacks from the press, was Chrēstomanos. It seems that he was following the movement of the formation of the Greek National School of music even after 1906, when he retired from the Nea Skēnē troupe, financially ruined. We meet him among the sparse audience of Manolis Kalomiris's first concert at the Athens Conservatory in June 1908, an event that is recognised as the birth of the Greek National School of music.

But who really cared about Chrēstomanos's ideas on music, on monuments or on settings? The fact is that, as early as in 1901, eight months after his manifesto in the Dionysus Theatre, when his troupe had started its performances, all of his supporters had abandoned him. The audience of the first performances went to the theatre to admire the European costumes, furniture and salons that he chose and placed on stage with great grace and style. They paid little attention to his musical perspective. They considered him a foreigner so the peculiar way in which he used the music, the settings and finally the choreography in the staging of Greek ancient drama made them think that this was a genre he did not know how to stage. And as for the music, they did not want to hear anything about the existence of a vibrant, dynamic, rhythmic and melodious music such as *rebetiko* and the other kinds of urban folk music. Twenty-four years later, Isadora Duncan's ideas on choreography, ideas that he also adopted in *The Ecclesiazusae,* reached their peak: using postures on ancient vases, Eva Palmer-Sikelianos (1874–1952), accompanied by her husband Angelos Sikelianos (1884–1951), who had been a member of Chrestomanos's Nea Skēnē troupe in 1901, invented an impressive choreography for the staging of ancient tragedy, during the two Delphic Festivals (1927, 1930). Five years later, the director Karolos Koun (1908–1987) was led instinctively to a recipe very similar to Chrēstomanos's amalgam, for the incidental music of Aristophanes' plays he staged at the Athens College and Laikē Skēnē, excluding then the Wagnerian musical elements; the reception was again hostile. But twenty-five years later, the same recipe proved ideal for the staging of Aristophanes through the directions of Karolos Koun and Alexēs Solomos (1918–2012) both by the Theatro Technēs's troupe and by the Greek National Theatre, and it dominated Greek theatre until the end of the century.

Writing Music for Ancient Greek Tragedy's Stagings in France and in Greece in the Twentieth Century: The Use of the Voice in Pierre Boulez's *Orestie* (1955) and Jani Christou's *The Persians* (1965)

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ABSTRACT: Among the ancient Greek themes that have been inspiring artistic creation for centuries, tragedy has had a special place by offering the opportunity for an extraordinary diversity of approaches and (re)interpretations. In the nineteenth century, the philhellenic movement and the literary, philological and poetic interest in ancient Greece that emerged thanks to factors such as the archaeological excavations, the revival of open theatres and the creation of various festivals, encouraged the glorious return of the myths of the Labdakids and the Atreids in Europe, especially in France and Greece. In particular, this great revival took place during the unstable economic and socio-political conditions of the twentieth century, instigating serious reflection on the progress of humanity, mostly through numerous theatrical productions.

Considering Greek tragedy as their ancient inheritance, Greek and French composers adopted different and often very original ways to create the music accompanying these performances. Much of this incidental music showed a considerable preoccupation with experimentation, thus innovation, which relates to different compositional aspects, such as the instrumentation, the musical language (association of various sources: traditional, avant-garde, extra-European), the chorus treatment, the relationship between text, staging and music, or the function of the voice.

Pierre Boulez and Jani Christou wrote incidental music for the staging of the *Orestie* (1955, Compagnie Renaud-Barrault) and of *The Persians* (1965, Theatre of Art), that paid a great attention to the vocal interpretation. Boulez used the chorus's voice as a primordial instrument having a very demanding role, that joined the orchestra's ensemble. On the other hand, Christou reduced the importance of the instrumental parts by 'orchestrating' the voices, namely by using the vocal timbre of the Persians' chorus (which dominates the whole work) in a really inventive way. Focusing on the tragedy's stage action and working closely with the text, both composers exploited the various possibilities and nuances of the voice, but adopted opposite and singular approaches, that contributed significantly to the development of incidental music for the ancient Greek tragedy.

Among the ancient Greek themes that have been inspiring artistic creation for centuries, tragedy has had a special place by offering the opportunity for an extraordinary diversity of approaches and (re)interpretations that reflect upon and criticise the society of a particular time. In the nineteenth century, the glorious return of the myths of the Labdakids and the Atreids in Europe was encouraged by the development of the philhellenic movement and the literary, philological and poetic interest that emerged from the archaeological excavations, the revival of open theatres and the creation of various festivals. However, the great renewal of Greek tragedy took place during the unstable economic and socio-political

conditions of the twentieth century, instigating reflection on the progress of humanity, mostly through numerous theatrical productions. In particular, after the end of the Second World War, Greek tragedy provoked a vivid scenic and musical revitalisation, especially in Greece and in France, between which there was important cultural exchange.

Considering Greek tragedy as their ancient inheritance, Greek and French composers adopted different and often very original ways to create the music accompanying these performances. Overcoming several shortcomings relating to the composition of music for modern stagings of Greek tragedy, much of this incidental music showed a considerable preoccupation for experimentation, thus innovation, which related to different compositional aspects, such as: the instrumentation, the musical language (association of various sources: traditional, avant-garde, extra-European), the chorus treatment, the relationship between text, staging and music or the function of the voice.

Among those examples of incidental music that paid a great attention to the vocal interpretation, we will refer especially to Pierre Boulez's *Orestie*, staged in 1955 by Jean-Louis Barrault, and Jani Christou's *The Persians*, staged in 1965 by Karolos Koun. Focusing on the tragedy's stage action and working closely with the text, both composers exploited the various possibilities and nuances of the voice, but adopted opposite and very singular approaches.

The first two tragedies of Aeschylus' *Orestie* were presented by the Renaud-Barrault Company in Bordeaux's Festival on 24 May 1955. The entire trilogy was performed in October in the same year at the Théâtre Marigny and in 1962 at the Théâtre de l'Odéon. The original texts were adapted by André Obey so as to make possible their performance as a triple bill; the costumes were designed by Marie-Hélène Dasté, the masks were created by Amleto Sartori and Petrus Bride, and the decors by Félix Labisse. Boulez's music for this trilogy was written at the time he was the musical director of the Company. It was in perfect harmony with Barrault's staging approach, that favoured occultism and ecstatic trance. Actually, Barrault wanted to give a symbolic significance to the staging, a primitive dimension,[1] and to create a 'great savage celebration' in order to enchant the spectator by its magic and incantatory force.[2] His interpretation was based on ritual elements, cults and trance practices originally from the extra-European, African or South-American traditions. Even if they seemed, at first sight, to be far away from the ancient Greek civilisation, they gave the opportunity to the stage director to get closer to the religious dimension of the tragedy. According to Marianne McDonald, Barrault's *Orestie* 'signified a return to "primitive rawness", which was associated with Greek tragedy';[3] 'it returned the drama to the religious and ritualistic drums and the music enhanced this effect'.[4]

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[1] Patricia Vasseur-Legangneux, *Les Tragédies grecques sur la scène moderne, une utopie théâtrale* (Villeneuve-d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2004), 38.
[2] Évelyne Ertel, 'La Tragédie grecque et sa représentation moderne', in Roger-François Gauthier (ed.), *La Tragédie grecque. Les Atrides au Théâtre du Soleil* (Théâtre aujourd'hui, 1; Paris: CNDP, 1992), 14.
[3] Marianne McDonald, *The Living Art of Greek Tragedy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 28.
[4] Ibid.

Indeed, oscillating between a language typical of the musical avant-garde of the time and oriental inspirations, the *Orestie*'s score reflected the character of the spectacle and was composed in close collaboration with Barrault. According to him, the *Orestie*'s music was influenced by the music of Tibet, the imperial Japanese music and the music of Noh Theatre;[5] despite the dodecaphonic and serial style of the composer, the chorus's form and the instrumental part were based more on the oriental tradition than on the occidental one.[6] In May 1955, Boulez indicated that:

> Sans vouloir faire de la reconstitution, on s'est appuyé sur la construction de la trilogie [...] pour pouvoir écrire une musique qui correspond au texte. Malgré le manque d'indications précises concernant la représentation des tragédies grecques, on peut penser que le théâtre oriental — où chant, parole, danse, musique sont étroitement imbriqués — nous fournit un modèle assez proche. (Compte tenu des différences ethniques).[7]

> Without wishing to make a reconstruction, we focused on the trilogy's construction [...] in order to be in a position to write music corresponding to the text. Despite the lack of precise indications regarding the performance of Greek tragedies, we can suppose that the oriental theatre – where chant, speech, dance, music are closely related – offers a model very close to it, keeping always in mind the national differences.

The score is written for flute, oboe, clarinets, trumpets, harp and three groups of percussion instruments (vibraphone, xylophone, glockenspiel and so on), the vibraphone and the xylophone having very elaborate parts. Working closely and very elaborately with Obey's translation, Boulez nonetheless tried to relate the music to the action without being willing to explain or underline the text; he was very attentive to the text's form when setting it to music, and also reflected on the music's staging. His acute literary faculty surfaces in the *Orestie*'s score, which gives a primary place to vocal intervention. Boulez gave a great importance to the chorus, whose treatment is very varied; its place is almost equal to that of the orchestra. According to the composer, the lyric parts are based on the text's division to strophes and antistrophes; their metric analysis designate the tempo indications and the relation or contrast between strophe and antistrophe.[8] In 'Agamemnon', the choral parts are mainly declaimed, while in 'Les Choéphores' the chant is very developed; finally in 'Les Euménides' 'the conception is rather that of dancing and chanting'.[9] Using his own musical vocabulary, serialism, Boulez composed very dense music, rhythmically and melodically as well; its performance was very demanding for the musicians as well as for the actors, amateurs in music – members of the chorus – despite the fact that he tried to simplify the lyric parts. In fact, these parts reveal polyphonic complexity, contrapuntal thinking and

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[5] Jean-Louis Barrault, 'Eschyle et *l'Orestie*', *Cahiers Renaud-Barrault*, 11 bis (May 1955–January 1962), 116.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Pierre Boulez, 'La Musique de *l'Orestie* vue par son auteur', *La Vie Bordelaise*, 14 May 1955.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.

dense harmonic structures just like the instrumental ones. Presenting his work in the French journal *Le Franc Tireur*, Boulez mentioned:

> Bien que la part du chant soit réduite, les voix des acteurs et du chœur sont utilisés, comme des instruments, d'une manière allant, si l'on veut, du parler pur au chant pur en passant par tous les degrés du sprechgesang, le parlé rythmé inventé par Arnold Schoenberg. Je précise encore que la musique inspirée par les modes musicaux orientaux, est écrite d'après les plus strictes disciplines de la musique sérielle dodécaphonique. Mais on ne doit à aucun moment isoler cette musique de l'ensemble du jeu dramatique. Ce n'est pas une suite d'orchestre, mais une musique utilitaire. Je peux enfin ajouter, que si les acteurs furent au début un peu affolés par le caractère inhabituel de cette musique, ils s'adaptèrent très vite aux rythmes discontinus, aux intervalles vocaux déroutants comme à la rigueur métrique de la musique dodécaphonique.[10]

> Even though the part of the chant is reduced, the voices of the actors and the chorus are used as instruments, indeed going from pure speech to pure chant, passing through all levels of *Sprechgesang*, the rhythmic declamation invented by Arnold Schoenberg. Inspired by the oriental musical modes, the music is composed according to the strictest rules of the dodecaphonic serial music. But we must at no point isolate this music from the dramatic interpretation. It is not an orchestra suite, but functional music. Finally, I would add that if the actors were at first a bit terrified by the unusual character of this music, they were quickly used to the discontinuous rhythms and the perplexing vocal intervals as well as the rigorous metrics of dodecaphonic music.

The chorus is divided into eleven solo voices according to Obey's adaptation, that follows in this respect Paul Mazon's translation. The text is distributed to each actor or chorus member depending on each one's declamatory way.[11] There are passages performed in *tutti*, by solo voices (chorus D, 'Les Choéphores'), chants for two different voices (chorus B, 'Les Choéphores'), for two alternating semi-choruses (*parodos*, 'Les Choéphores') and even for a female and a male chorus which sing at the same time different melodic lines ('Les Euménides', No. 17; Example 1). The performance of the choral parts is very diverse, ranging from the most discreet speech without instrumental accompaniment to rhythmic declamation, *a cappella* or accompanied by percussions, passing through pure chant. According to Martin Zenck, Boulez tried to make the vocal sound deeper than the instrumental sound by using the human voice either for singing or for reciting and distinguishing it among the pitch, the vocal intensity and the language.[12] The declamatory writing was transported to the instruments: the percussions have accented parts, the

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[10] Guy Verdot, 'Pierre Boulez nous dit ce que sera musicalement "l'*Orestie*" d'Eschyle que monte J.-L. Barrault à Marigny', *Le Franc Tireur*, 1–2 October 1955.

[11] Martin Zenck, 'Pierre Boulez' *Orestie* (1955–1995). Das unveröffentlichte Manuskript der szenischen Musik zu Jean-Louis Barraults Inszenierung der Trilogie im Théâtre Marigny', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 60 (2003), 50–73.

[12] Ibid.

melodic lines of the winds are in perfect dialogue with the voice of the choristers and the protagonists, the vibraphone and the harp are in pedal and in *sostenuto* in order to extend the human voice.[13]

Example 1. Pierre Boulez, 'Les Euménides', No. 17, bb. 1–6
(Transcription based on the manuscript score; Basel, Paul Sacher Stiftung,
Pierre Boulez Collection, Mappe G, Dossier 1)

Boulez exploited the possibilities of the voice by passing constantly from speaking passages to rhythmic, singing or even shouting ones and vice-versa ('Agamemnon', 'Clytemnestra's entry at the arrival of Agamemnon'; Example 2); the latter often demand a precise tempo and specific expression: 'animé, un peu retenu, modéré' (animated, a little bit retained, moderate) (No. 7, chorus B, 'Agamemnon'), 'accentué, psalmodié' (emphasised, like a psalmody) (No. 3, chorus B, 'Agamemnon'), and so on. Thus, the composer follows a particular dramatic conception for the chant and the chorus's declamation depending on the tragic action. Zenck believes that the different tempi of speaking and the various forms of declamation have a particular function according to the characters of the tragedy.[14]

**Example 2**. Pierre Boulez, 'Agamemnon', ('Clytemnestra's entry'), bb. 1–4
(Transcription based on the second copy of the manuscript score, Paris, BnF,
Collection Renaud-Barrault, Mappe G, Dossier 1)

Nevertheless, the *Orestie*'s vocal music presents numerous and serious difficulties for the performer concerning the melodic development, due to the large intervals, the

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[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.

dissonance, the division of the chant into two different voices ('Les Choéphores', *parodos*) as well as the rhythmic unfolding, which is often very complex (chorus C, 'Agamemnon'). It involves also continuous changes of metre, probably because of the prosody of the French text. Moreover, the choral parts are rarely doubled by the orchestra, and if we find some melodic motifs repeated in 'Agamemnon', this is only due to the repetition of the same text. The two final tragedies also reveal a very complicated writing for the voice, which required more professional performers with experience in the avant-garde music of the time rather than actors, mostly amateurs on the musical level, who had to sing by heart (Example 3). According to Jean Gillibert, stage director and Barrault's assistant at that time, Boulez's music could not really be sung by amateurs.[15] Apparently, Boulez had to change his vocal music several times in order to align his language with the musical competences of the actors. In fact, the consultation of the two versions of the manuscript score reveals important modifications of many choral parts: most of the times, in the second version they were declaimed rather than sung.
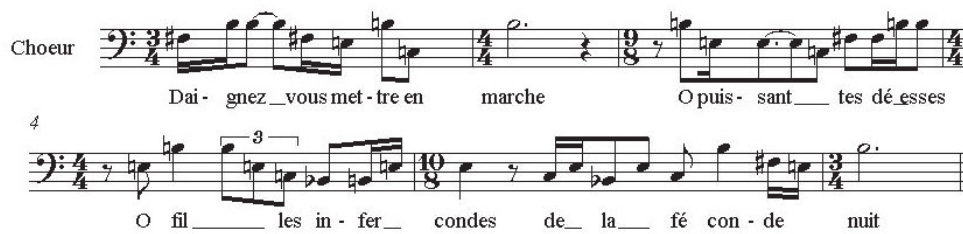
Example 3. Pierre Boulez, 'Les Euménides', No. 11, bb. 1–6
(Transcription based on the manuscript score, Basel, Paul Sacher Stiftung,
Pierre Boulez Collection, Mappe G, Dossier 1)

The sophisticated treatment of the voice, that is aligned with the rest of the orchestra, rhythmically and melodically, gives the impression of writing for an instrument that was added to the ensemble. Thus, we can suppose that with this work Boulez touched the limits of an opera (a genre that does not appear in his work catalogue) since he exceeded, on the technical level, the performance requirements of incidental music by actors, namely non-professional musicians. Furthermore, the vocal writing in the *Orestie* relates to two other important vocal works, *Le Marteau sans maître* (The Hammer without a Master, 1953–1955) and *Improvisation sur Mallarmé* (Improvisation on Mallarmé, 1957), in which Boulez experimented with the penetrating nature of the instrumental sound, the vocal sound and the percussions.[16] The important role of the chorus and the particular vocal writing, which is based on the text, reveal common points with Christou's music for *The Persians*.

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[15] Personal testimonies after interviewing both stage directors, Jean Gillibert et Lucien Durand, during the author's doctoral research. Andriana Soulele, 'La Musique de scène des représentations de tragédies grecques en France et en Grèce, de 1945 à 1975', doctoral thesis (Université de Paris Sorbonne, 2009).
[16] Ibid.

Under Karolos Koun's[17] staging, Giannēs Tsarouchēs's set, Giannēs Moralēs's costumes and Maria Kynēgou's choreography, *The Persians*' performance illustrates a different, but at the same time very imaginative, concept for the Greek tragedy that applies mostly to the remarkable use of the voice. It was presented by the Art Theatre in London's Aldwych Theatre in April 1965 and afterwards in the Odeon of Herodes Atticus in Athens. Close to the ideas of Jean-Louis Barrault, Koun's staging approach took into consideration the contemporaneous reality and the rites of the Asian and African traditions as well. According to the stage director Gerasimos Evangelatos, his conception of putting on stage Greek tragedies was based on 'a popular expressionism', on a nodal point, where the past meets the present and the Orient meets the Occident; his goal was to stimulate the mind and the aesthetic point of view of the spectator.[18]

The aesthetic convergence between the director and the composer resulted in a mutual and very fruitful influence: Koun perceived *The Persians* through Christou's music and Christou staged the Aeschylian tragedy in his mind before composing the music.[19] In fact, Christou wrote the music taking into consideration the staging and the acting; according to him, the text constituted 'a score to which the sounds are added afterwards'. [20] His conception of a fundamental musical function and his original initiatives concerning the chorus met with the total enthusiastic approval of Koun. According to him, Christou's music supported completely his staging,[21] particularly as regards the chorus's imposing role. At the same time, Chistou found in Koun a stage director willing to allow space for experimentation without limits. Hence, his score represented totally his personal musical aims.[22]

Written for magnetic tapes (prepared piano and *musique concrète*), an ensemble of wind, string and percussion instruments,[23] singing and declaiming chorus, *The Persians*' complex score comprises dissonant and chromatic melodic development, various rhythmic

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[17] Karolos Koun (1908–1987) was an exceptional stage director, renowned in Europe for his vivid performances of ancient Greek tragedy and comedy. He founded the Theatre of Art in 1942, presented numerous productions of avant-garde European writers such as Brecht and Pirandello, and collaborated with many Greek composers. Michael Mayar, *O Karolos Koun kai to Theatro Technis* (Karolos Koun and the Art Theatre), trans. Erika Kairi (Athens: Ellēniko Logotechniko kai Istoriko Archeio, 2004).

[18] Gerasimos Evangelatos, 'H epanastatikē anoixē enos theatrou. Synopitikē istoria enos anthrōpou kai enos oramatos pou allaxe to theatro stēn Ellada' (The Revolutionary Spring of a Theatre. Concise History of a Man and a Vision that Changed Theatre in Greece), *Iridanos*, 8 (October 2006) <http://www.hridanos.gr/volume08/afieroma/index.php>, accessed 26 March 2011.

[19] Cōnstantina Stathoulopoulou, 'Epidauria melismata' (Chants in Epidaurus), in Kōstas Geōrgousopoulos (ed.), *Epidauros. To archaio theatro, oi parastaseis* (Epidaurus. The Ancient Theatre, the Performances) (Athens: Militos, 2002), 220.

[20] Ibid.

[21] S. I. Artemakēs, 'O Karolos Koun milaei gia tous *Perses*' (Karolos Koun talks about *The Persians*), *Kathēmerinē*, 25 March 1965, n.p.n.

[22] 'Jani Christou. Gnōmē enos neou synthetē' (Jani Christou. The Opinion of a Young Composer), *To Ethnos*, 12 July 1968, n.p.n.

[23] The orchestra consists of 3 horns, 2 trombones, tuba, piano, violoncello, contrabass, santouri, xylophone, blocks, military drum, cymbals, tam-tam, bass drum, bongos, conga, toms, timpani, and different types of bells.

motifs and attributes an important role to percussion instruments. In addition, the magnetic tapes present various vocal effects such as sighs, breaths, gasps and whispers.[24] As for the *stasima*, the lyric parts, most of them are recited naturally and rhythmically by soloists and the chorus. They are often accompanied by percussions, such as tam-tam and timpani. The chant actually occupies a smaller part in the score and shows considerable influence from the Byzantine chant due to its hieratic and psalmody aspect.[25]

The originality of this work resides in the innovative treatment of the text and of the chorus. Some of Christou's techniques for the chorus – such as mixing various sung and recited verses, non synchronous performance and superposition of different voices and texts – can be traced in incidental music composed by others, such as Xenakis' *Oresteia*, written almost at the same period in 1965. However, Christou's concept shows a different employment of them; his large dramatic and musical imagination goes beyond borders that limit the chorus function on stage. With the collaboration of the director, the stage action is written on the score: some passages of the actors and the total text of the chorus, their movements and every possible nuance of expression as well, are written down in order to control and determine their relation with the music.[26]

The chorus, the chant and the diverse declamations are employed by Christou as sound material which has to be treated and developed musically during the tragedy's action. He declared on this matter:

Γράφοντας τη μουσική των *Περσών* δεν με ενδιέφερε να δημιουργήσω απλά υποκρουστικά αποτελέσματα. Εκείνο που με τράβηξε ήταν η δυνατότητα να χρησιμοποιήσω το Χορό σαν μέσο αναπαραγωγής της πρώτης ύλης της τραγωδίας – των πρωτόγονων, βασικών συγκινήσεων. Αυτό προσπάθησα να το πετύχω τοποθετώντας λέξεις και φράσεις με τρόπο που να δημιουργούν σχήματα απόλυτου αυτάρκους φωνητικού ήχου, ποικίλης υφής.[27]

By writing the music of *The Persians*, I wasn't interested in creating merely a musical background. What attracted me was the ability to use the chorus as a medium of reproducing the tragedy's raw material – of primitive, primary emotions. I tried to achieve this by placing words and phrases in a way that they would create forms of absolutely autonomous vocal sound of varied texture.

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[24] According to the manuscript score of *The Persians*: 'Softest cluster vibrations – only just audible, very faint heavy sighings – breath only – in echo chamber – slow and infrequent', 'soft cluster vibrations, slow gasps, only just audible', 'whispers in echo chamber – extremely slow, hollow sigh like repetitions of *κα...νείς* [no...body]...superimposed'. Athens, Jani Christou Archive, Jani Christou, *The Persians*, manuscript score.

[25] The Byzantine chant's influence, evident in every *stasimon*, is incontestable in the second *stasimon*: the Persian chorus invokes Darius' spirit with a short melody based on chromatic tetrachords.

[26] Giannēs G. Papaïōannou, *O Giannēs Chrēstou kai ē metafysikē tēs mousikēs* (Jani Christou and the Metaphysics of Music) (Athens: E.S.SY.M., 1970), 13.

[27] Jani Christou, 'Grafontas gia ton choro' (Composing for the Chorus), in Sophia Zarampouka-Sarrē (ed.), *Theatro Technēs 1942–1972* (Theatre of Art 1942–1972) (Athens: Hellēnikē Etaireia Theatrou – Theatro Technēs, 1972), 33.

Christou thought of the chorus as a complex instrument occupying a dominant place in tragedy's interpretation; the human voice offered him a large canvas moving from speaking to singing, and from singing to shouting, convoking every possible vocal sound and expression (wailing to the mournful psalmody, *glissandi* to the sound of breath, sighing to screaming and crying, inhalation and exhalation), by emphasising particular text fragments, employing the rhythmic possibilities of the Greek language and using every nuance from *pianissimo* to *fortissimo*.[28]

The division of the chorus allowed him to cut and divide the text, repeat it and exploit it freely. Hence, he singled out key words and phrases and created rich rhythmical and melodic patterns (Example 4) that are performed by one or more choral groups or soloists, while other chorists and soloists recited different fragments of the text simultaneously or not. Employing different tempi, rhythms, dynamics, various accentuations and techniques (such as the rhythmic or melodic polyphonic treatment), as well as the question-answer game and the canon, Christou 'orchestrated' the chorus in an ingenious way that made the use of instruments almost unnecessary.[29] The vocal interpretation that he proposed also offered more vigour to the recitation, the dialogue, the complaints and the chorus lamentation; it marked crucial moments of the stage action and brought out the profound meaning of the text. Thus, even though music had a vital role, the text was always at the forefront. As a consequence, Christou reformed not only the musical, but the theatrical performance of the chorus as well: staging and musical interpretation became one, interdependent and inseparable.
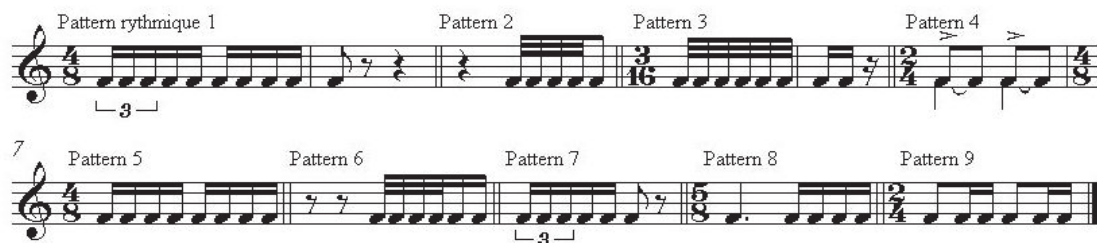
Example 4. Jani Christou, *The Persians*, patterns
(Transcription from the manuscript score, Athens, Jani Christou Archive)

Considered as the most original and unique work of its genre by many Greek composers, such as George Couroupos and Theodore Antoniou,[30] *The Persians* abolishes the frontiers between speech and music through its vocal realisation; it unifies them at a higher level that could surpass the form of the opera. According to Anna-Martine Lucciano, the dichotomy

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[28] Anna-Martine Lucciano, *Jani Christou: The Works and Temperament of a Greek Composer*, trans. Catherine Dale (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 2000), 75.

[29] Letter addressed to Folke Rabe from Jani Christou, at Christmas 1964. Consulted on the composer's official site <http://www.janichristou.com/commentaries/commentaries.html>, accessed 26 March 2011.

[30] Andriana Soulele, 'Ē mousikē gia to archaio ellēniko drama. Mia synenteuxē me ton synthetē Geōrgio Kouroupo' (Music for the Ancient Greek Drama. An Interview with the Composer George Couroupos), *Polyphonia*, 7 (autumn 2005), 147–170.

between text and music no longer exists; instead there is an integrated sound substance arising from these two heterogenic sources.[31] She considers that Christou exploits the voice's immense musical possibilities, no longer by simply valorising its profoundly human dimensions, but by going beyond this stage and taking it to the limits of its sonorous possibilities, to the boundary of the normal world and that of madness.[32] The exploration of new methods of expression, the spirit of experimentation, and the development of the theatrical element in this incidental music lead Christou to the ritualisation of musical action in his subsequent music. His works *Anaparastasis* (Proto-performances or Re-enactments) – ritual compositions uniting music, gesture, movement and choreography, written between 1966 and 1968 – represent exactly this aesthetical evolution.

Both the *Orestie* and *The Persians* demonstrate an exploitation of the human voice to an important extent, which results from fastidious work on the text. Both composers experimented with various vocal nuances moving from reciting to singing, passing through rhythmic declamation to shouting and screaming. Even though in the *Orestie* several choral parts were recited in the end, Boulez used the chant for the actors and the chorus to a greater extent than Christou did in *The Persians*; the latter principally explored various rhythmical and declaiming ways by combining solo and choral voices and using synchronous performances of different texts or only words and syllables with diverse intensities according to the tragic scenes. If Boulez used the voices of the chorus members as a virtuosic instrument in order to enrich his orchestral ensemble, Christou exploited the chorus vocal possibilities so as to almost replace his orchestral ensemble and make it practically useless! Boulez, consciously or not, reached the borders of a serial opera through a very elaborate writing for the lyric parts; yet Christou went beyond them by making inseparable the relation between music and text. Original and innovative for its time, the music of these scores proves the great degree to which it is possible to experiment through the genre of the ancient Greek tragedy and affirms the possibility of amalgamating different traditions, inspirations and influences in order to reinterpret its context and meaning for the modern world. Being unique works in both composers' repertory, the *Orestie* and *The Persians* brought a new spirit into writing music for contemporary productions of Greek tragedy, that certainly improved the image and facilitated the development of incidental music during the last decades of the twentieth century.

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[31] Lucciano, *Jani Christou*, 81.
[32] Ibid*.*

Spotting Amazons, Scoring Demigods:
Television, Music and the Reception of Greek Antiquity

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ABSTRACT: Images of Greek antiquity have become a common trend in modern popular culture. Mass media – television in particular – frequently employ mythological and historical themes of the distant past. As music continues to play a fundamental narrative role in constructing audiovisual representation on the small screen, I will analyse the way television music is involved in shaping a neo-romantic reception of Greek antiquity. Based on the recent series productions *Hercules: The Legendary Journeys* (1995–1999) and *Xena: Warrior Princess* (1995–2001), I will try to highlight particular issues concerning music and the visual interpretation of the ancient Greek world. Myths and symbols, authoritative gods and supernatural heroes, wise kings and attractive princesses, epic wars and love tragedies, great commanders and brave soldiers, sacred traditions and moral values, in addition to several other aspects of an imaginary archaic life and culture, all these constitute the storyline for creating diverse narratives on Greek antiquity. This high-level production context – usually full of sweeping musical scoring, detailed special effects, impressive period costumes, extravagant settings and intentional overacting – aims at developing a mass appeal 'exotic' spectacle under the standpoint of contemporary Western pseudo-realistic perception.

The widespread of multidimensional ways of communication during the twentieth century had a great impact on the alteration of both the aesthetic and cultural experience all over the Western world. Audiovisual media are fundamental mechanisms in contemporary societies. They do not simply shape a global model of human interaction, but they have also turned out to be our second ('virtual') nature; therefore, it is extremely hard to stay away from them no matter what. Anthony Giddens has already warned against the reformation of people-to-people relationships and revealed the contemporary crisis of identity as a dislocation, a dissociation of the 'time-space' duality from its natural and cultural origins.[1] Raymond Williams has also presented television as a complex techno-cultural vehicle, which is directly associated with the modern way of being, experiencing and communicating.[2] For Williams, the aura of television as a means of modernity is ambiguous, because it directs the general public towards a more personalised form of everyday life, but also offers novel perspectives by decreasing the gap between the natural, the cultural and the virtual space, as well as by disorientating historical time. To state this in a different manner, the observation, interpretation and evaluation of television culture creates a substantial inconsistency: the concurrence of people's empathy with and detachment from both the medium and its message.

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[1] Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990).
[2] Raymond Williams, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form* (London: Fontana, 1974).

The dipole 'identity versus alterity' is a fragmented and equivocal philosophical schema, often used as a starting point in contemporary theories of psychological, sociological and anthropological interpretations of cultural phenomena. Identity is connected with the concepts of the 'Self' and 'subjectivity', describing the existence and the presence of being. Most of the times, defining the Self encompasses a definition of the Other, which is mainly a distinction between the Self and the Other signifying their similarities as well as their dissimilarities. Over the last decades, the debate on identity politics has been motivated by the fields of cultural and post-colonial studies.

Critical theorist Homi K. Bhabha, based on the work of Foucault and Said, focuses on the phenomenological and cognitive construction of 'difference' and 'diversity', which lead to the impression of identification and the formation of identity. According to Bhabha, fixed and consistent representations of reality imply actions with ideological and political backdrop.[3] In other words, stereotypes are semiotic constructions, which function as poetic (constructive) and rhetorical (legitimate) manifestations of the hegemonic culture. On the other hand, identities (either personal or communal) are not typical, pre-constructed and ahistorical but in-between, marginal and hybrid morphemes. Therefore, the subject in question moves from the level of actual presence, form and content to those of narration, representation and performance, as anthropologist Johannes Fabian states.[4] Television – a narrative medium which emphasises on imaginative and fictionalised re-enactment – has the ability to broadly represent and perform the creation and the dissemination of identity stereotypes. The production processes in contemporary mass media are characterised by the repeated use of conventional audiovisual representations. Dominant conceptions of identity are inextricably bound up with two distinct dimensions of reality in mainstream Western perspective: 'image' and 'sound' as privileging means of experience and knowledge.[5] The emergent synthesis of optical and acoustic projection in multimedia texts constructs a symbolic bi-sensory illusion, what Michel Chion calls 'the audiovisual contract'.[6] Thus, meaning in media emerges from audience experience of the above relationship.

Popular music professor Anahid Kassabian offers an innovative model of analysis which supports the role of the spectator in the reception and the perception of the 'image-music' relation.[7] For Kassabian, there are two types of audience identification with music during an audiovisual show: the 'assimilating' and the 'affiliating'. During the assimilating identification the audience perceives music as a strictly controlled condition.[8] In contrast,

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[3] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

[4] Johannes Fabian, 'Presence and Representation: The Other and Anthropological Writing', *Critical Inquiry*, 16/4 (summer 1990), 753–772.

[5] See Lutz P. Koepnick, 'Consuming the Other: Identity, Alterity, and Contemporary German Cinema', *Camera Obscura*, 15/2 (summer 2000), 41–73.

[6] Michel Chion, *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen*, ed. and trans. Claudia Gorbman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

[7] Anahid Kassabian, *Hearing Film: Tracking Identifications in Contemporary Hollywood Film Music* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001).

[8] See, for instance, the original background scores that reproduce aspects of the hegemony of the post-romantic and neoclassic Hollywood tradition.

through affiliating identification spectators relate to the music by means of an open, totally subjective and emergent procedure.[9] There is also another quality involving image and sound analysis in film and television: the distinction between 'diegetic' and 'non-diegetic' music. As 'diegesis' stands for the fictional world in which the situations and events narrated occur, the term 'diegetic' refers to the function of music as a part of a work's theatrical narrative sphere. This is the music whose source is visible on the screen or that is produced by action implied from off screen and represented as coming from the story space. On the contrary, 'non-diegetic' music is neither visible on the screen nor is it implied to be present in the action; rather it is the incidental music heard only by the audience.[10]

Hercules: The Legendary Journeys and *Xena: Warrior Princess* are two spin-off television series situated in an imaginative adaptation of ancient Greece and filmed in New Zealand. The 'ancient' Greece that is portrayed in these two shows is basically derived from sites and events of earlier periods, that have been revised in order to establish a fascinating transhistorical world. The flexible fantasy context of *Hercules* and *Xena* incorporates an extensive variety of narrative genres such as melodrama, comedy, musical, romance and adventure. Although typically set in ancient era, the storylines of the shows often generate anachronistic components that intentionally mix time and join together historical and mythological elements. Former jazz guitarist and well-known horror film music composer Joseph LoDuca wrote the theme tune as well as the background music for these series and co-authored the lyrics for some of their songs. One of the most important remarks for the analysis is that music in both *Hercules* and *Xena* mostly refers to Kassabian's 'assimilating identification' process and it is merely non-diegetic.

Underscoring in *Hercules* draws upon the symphonic orchestral palette of Western romanticism, as it was later applied in the classical Hollywood film music tradition.[11] The theme music of the show consists of an epic motif orchestrated triumphantly with the blazing colours of the brass section of the orchestra. It continues with a lyrical passage performed by the strings and switches back to the first heroic pattern played by the full orchestra as the narrator recites a general introduction of the story. This romantic musical language is based on the subordination of all elements in the musical texture to the expressive song-like melody, giving the auditors a clear point of focus, as opposed to the discontinuous visual channels of perception. In *Hercules'* music there is also special emphasis on adventurous modulations, chromatic harmonies, dense texture, dramatic contrasts, climactic dynamics, thematic transformations and the use of Wagnerian leitmotifs. The above conventions are used to maintain structural unity and highlight the content through an exact synchronisation between music and visual action. LoDuca

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[9] Principally involving compilation scores, this association aims to the creation of a multiform cultural experience and relates to the assemblage of popular songs.

[10] This theory was initially introduced in Claudia Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies: Narrative Film Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).

[11] See, for example, Kathryn M. Kalinak, *Settling the Score: Music and the Classical Hollywood Film* (Madison and London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1992).

describes the process of creating the main titles composition and deciding the specific music idiom for *Hercules* as follows:

> From the outset Rob [Tapert] and Sam [Raimi] were interested in trying to do something different with *Hercules*. Originally we thought I would create an exotic and Arabic score. When the first film footage from New Zealand came back, I felt that this was not going to be the best approach. I saw lush landscapes and colourful costuming that almost looked medieval. It was broader and more fantastic than anything as specific as Arab music could describe and there was nothing exotic about the 'new' Hercules in this show. He's a tall, blond hero with a good heart. *Hercules* theme came to me in about an hour as I was leaving for Los Angeles to present some ideas. Our hero was good and true. His theme reflects these qualities. We would instead surround him with the hummus, as I call it; the ethnic spicing appears around him as required.[12]

Music, costumes and settings in *Hercules* are modelled on previous filmic, theatrical and operatic concepts, making no effort to establish an essence of musical, visual or historical authenticity. In fact, *Hercules*' music represents the type of scoring that puts the romantic television music style before audiovisual archaeology. LoDuca does not attempt to recreate a genuine ancient music soundscape but aspires to provide a passionate, masculine and warlike ambience that fits the Western impressions of vigorous Greek mythological figures. This stereotypical representation carries a notion of a utopian, ahistorical and universal conception of ancient Greek culture closely related with Bhabha's postmodern critique on the colonial politics of identity.

Hercules and *Xena* episodes last about 45 minutes each and contain about 35 minutes of music, which seems too lengthy and demanding for a weekly program. *Xena*'s main title is constructed identically to the *Hercules* theme. It has similar structure, based on symphonic background orchestration. But there are also some major differences between them. While the *Hercules* piece follows a predictable instrumental colouring, *Xena*'s opening credits begin with a gaida's solo. After a cymbal's crash, timpani and brass start playing the seven-beat (2-2-3) *rŭchenitsa* dance rhythm.[13] A female choir sings a Bulgarian-style tune on a narrow-range motif and a drone-like texture. Singers and horns increase dynamics. Strings join in unison and then play a 3/4 legato melody. Music proceeds with full orchestral sound. The brass return and the chorus re-enters. Melody, rhythm and lyrics offer a 'Balkan mood' inspired by the traditional Bulgarian song 'Kaval sviri' (The Kaval Plays). These mysterious throat sounds promote the conception of 'Bulgarian-folk-music-as-world-music'.[14]

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[12] Quoted from Karen Allman and Gerilyn Bosse, 'A Conversation with Joseph LoDuca', repr. in *Xena Media Review*, 22/5 (summer 1997) <http://www.xenafan.com/xmr/xmr/xmr022e.txt>, accessed 22 December 2012.

[13] *Rŭchenitsa* is a genre of Bulgarian (single or couple) folk dance, usually performed at weddings and stage festivities.

[14] Donna A. Buchanan, 'Bulgaria's Magical Mystère Tour: Postmodernism, World Music Marketing, and Political Change in Eastern Europe', *Ethnomusicology*, 41/1 (winter 1997), 131–157.

Vocals were performed by an American women's choir. Subsequently, the quality of choral sound was synthetically enriched by Zhivka Konstantinova, a charismatic Bulgarian immigrant to the USA, who had been a professional soloist in her motherland. Driven by the popularity of the earlier CD *Le Mystère des voix bulgares* (The Mystery of Bulgarian Voices) performed by the Bulgarian State Radio and Television Female Vocal Choir, LoDuca considered this kind of singing as a breathtaking resonance that would be suitable for Amazon fighters. The most obvious characteristic of these women is their passionate temperament, presented with both masculine and feminine attributes, a stereotypical image for Mediterranean and Balkan peasant female identity. Gender ambiguity is a key concept of the show's script and *mise-en-scène*. Staged as polysemic symbols, Xena and her companions become courageous and – at the same time – sexual images of the Other. The postmodern blend of gender identities makes easier for the production to develop an extensive mismatching of time, culture, history and language representations. These connotations are reflected in *Xena*'s background score, enclosing orientalistic linkages between Balkan women's singing and the Western impressions of primitive, mystical and emotional exoticism.

As mentioned in a detailed study by ethnomusicologist Donna Buchanan, who interviewed some of the members of the group,

> the actual lyrics to be sung held no real importance. When Konstantinova first read the texts at the studio, she remarked that they made no sense, and altered some of the lyrics to make them 'better Bulgarian'. Although Konstantinova would often exclaim 'What are we singing?!', LoDuca told the women that he just wanted the words to sound 'mythic', in keeping with the show's central thrust.[15]

The overall music-sound design employs an eclectic fusion of 'exotic' musical idioms by means of new-fashioned standards, thus constructing an imagery of non-Western cultures as utopias of spirituality and meditation. Oriental instruments' colour, odd musical metres and weird words highlight moments of Xena's persona, symbolically correlating Eastern, Mediterranean and Balkan culture with ancient Greek otherness. Particularly, LoDuca has found that the 'chilling sounds' of gaida and kaval – both performed by Konstantinova's husband Dimitŭr (Mitko) – helped to 'create an atmosphere of ancient culture, even though the dialogue is contemporary'.[16]

The soundtrack of *Xena* was well received both in the USA and abroad. LoDuca acquired seven Emmy nominations for scoring *Xena* and finally gained the award for 'Outstanding Music Composition for a Series (Dramatic Underscore)' in 2000. The *Hercules* and *Xena* music was made available in eight commercial albums by Varese Sarabande, containing the

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[15] Donna A. Buchanan, 'Bulgarian Ethnopop along the Old *Via Militaris*: Ottomanism, Orientalism, or Balkan Cosmopolitanism?', in Donna A. Buchanan (ed.), *Balkan Popular Culture and the Ottoman Ecumene: Music, Image, and Regional Political Discourse* (Europea: Ethnomusicologies and Modernities; Lanham, Toronto, and Plymouth: The Scarecrow Press, 2007), 256.
[16] Ibid.

orchestral non-diegetic music as well as some of the hybrid postmodern 'pop' songs of the shows. In a recent interview by a member of a film music fan magazine online forum, LoDuca stated:

> I call my experiences on *Xena* and *Hercules* my 'masters degree in ethnomusicology'. It was during that time that I had several periods of quick, intensive study in specific musical cultures from around the world. I tried to use what I had learned in my scores respectfully, and got to work with many master musicians and vocalists, many of whom did not utter a word of English.[17]

Back in 1995, distinguished ethnomusicologist Timothy Rice received a call from LoDuca, saying that he had been appointed to compose music for *Xena* and he intended to work on Bulgarian tunes for compiling the main theme of the series. Rice himself describes his initial communication with LoDuca:

> Needless to say, I was quite surprised and asked him why. He explained that the producers had heard some recordings of Bulgarian arranged choral music […]. They thought that the powerful sound of these female voices would be a perfect sonic representation of their powerful female heroine. He was coming to Los Angeles to record his score in a few weeks and asked if I could help him find appropriate words for the song text and a group of singers who could mimic the sound of Bulgarian choirs.[18]

He informed LoDuca that two local women's groups sang Bulgarian choral music of this kind but suggested that it would be practically unrealistic for them to produce the precise 'authentic' timbre. In addition, Rice advised the composer to find Konstantinova and have her record the songs over the American choir in order to get a feeling of the desirable antiquated sounds. The 'pre-modernness' of the *Hercules* and *Xena* music spectacles bring to mind John Corbett's notion of 'decorative orientalism', which refers to the use of unusual styles, idioms and other resources to satisfy the Western audiovisual sensation.[19]

The successful presence of the *Hercules* and *Xena* series was followed by the announcement of *Young Hercules* (1998–1999), an offshoot syndicated television show aired on Fox Kids Network, as well as *Hercules and Xena – The Animated Movie: The Battle for Mount Olympus* (1998), a 'cartoony' action adventure direct-to-video film.[20] It also

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[17] The REAL BJBien, 'Joseph LoDuca Interview – *Spartacus: Blood and Sand*', *Film Score Monthly Board*, 23 February 2011 <http://www.filmscoremonthly.com/board/posts.cfm?threadID=76569>, accessed 30 December 2012.

[18] Timothy Rice, *Music in Bulgaria: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 75.

[19] John Corbett, 'Experimental Oriental: New Music and Other Others', in Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (eds.), *Western Music and its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 163–186.

[20] Many books, comics, DVDs, video games and web sites released either as tie-ins or as artifacts of fandom are associated with the *Hercules* and *Xena* shows.

resulted in the rebirth of ancient epics in Hollywood cinema, such as Ridley Scott's *Gladiator* (2000), Wolfgang Petersen's *Troy* (2004), Oliver Stone's *Alexander* (2004), Zack Snyder's *300* (2007) and, more recently, Louis Leterrier's *The Clash of the Titans* (2010). These movies echo neo-romantic idioms 'with soaring melodies and stirring rhythms that underscore the efficacy of the individual so that we feel that his triumph is the triumph for all of society'.[21]

Hercules and *Xena* 'made-for-television' epics established a new genre for the small screen that was aimed at younger audiences internationally and could be described as *heterochronic* and *heterotopic*.[22] Although they tried to superficially preserve the Greek mythical landscape, it was not their intention to design an ambience of ancient soundscape. Their historical, ethnic and cultural transformations were attuned primarily to the present-day American worldview (values, ideals and concerns) and were portrayed as a pastiche spectacle. Both series' music production, broadcasting and promotion modus operandi reminds us of the latest 'world music' practices, since a specific 'world music' culture is often formed as a homogeneous and standardised entity, limited simply to its basic features and referred to motionless spatiotemporal appreciation. The market brand of 'world music' commodified regional musics of the world that were unfamiliar and inaccessible to the Western listeners, breaking the traditional relationships between identity, ethnicity, place/time and music and generating new, hybrid ones. During this fused encounter of different styles, Western music dominates other musics, since without any modification, revision and adaptation, local music cultures would sound too challenging for an eclectic, globalised audience.[23]

For Bhabha, the relationship between the colonial Self and the post-colonial Other is based upon the Western concept of 'mimicry', which is the desire for a purified and recognisable Other – the Other as an object that is almost (but not exactly) the same with the Self. 'Mimicry is, thus, the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which "appropriates" the Other as it visualizes power'.[24] This proves that the hegemonic discourse of colonial mimicry is constructed around an ambiguity, as the Western substance tries to please its unfulfilled desires. Afterwards, it reveals much more about the (colonial) Self than about the (indigenous) Other. New age musical romanticism in contemporary pseudo-historical television shows is preoccupied with an artistic form of dual temporality, one that yearns for the 'archaic', the 'natural' and the 'exotic' while embodying issues of postmodern nostalgia, uncertain contemporaneity,

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[21] Timothy E. Scheurer, *Music and Mythmaking in Film: Genre and the Role of the Composer* (Jefferson and London: McFarland, 2008), 108.

[22] Monica S. Cyrino, 'Classical Traditions: Film and Television', in Michael Gagarin and Elaine Fantham (eds.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, ii (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 217. For the concepts of 'heterochronia' and 'heterotopia' derived from Foucauldian theory, see William Uricchio, 'TV as Time Machine: Television's Changing Heterochronic Regimes and the Production of History', in Jostein Gripsrud (ed.), *Relocating Television: Television in the Digital Context* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 30.

[23] John Connell and Chris Gibson, *Sound Tracks: Popular Music, Identity and Place* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 146.

[24] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 86.

stylistic innovation and post-capitalistic consumption, therefore leading to what Timothy Taylor describes as 'armchair cosmopolitanism'.[25]

> This is the story of a time long ago. A time of myth and legend when the ancient gods were petty and cruel and they plagued mankind with suffering. Only one man dared to challenge their power... Hercules. Hercules possessed a strength the world had never seen. A strength surpassed only by the power of his heart. He journeyed the Earth battling the minions of his wicked stepmother, Hera, the all-powerful queen of the gods. But wherever there was evil, wherever an innocent would suffer, there would be... Hercules.
>
> *Hercules* opening credits narrative

> In time of ancient gods, warlords and kings, a land in turmoil cried out for a hero. She was Xena, a mighty princess forged in the heat of battle. The power. The passion. The danger. Her courage will change the world.
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> *Xena* opening credits narrative

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[25] Timothy D. Taylor, *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 208.

II. CHOREOGRAPHING
THE PAST

Maurice Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloé*: Surpassing Obstacles

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ABSTRACT: For Ravel, the path towards the composition of his first ballet, *Daphnis et Chloé* (Daphnis and Chloe), proved to be a painstaking task, not only because of the composer's strive for perfection, but also because of the theme of the story. The ballet is a rare and valuable example of music by Ravel with two extant versions, even though the earlier one was not orchestrated. Ravel was a perfectionist and would not tinker with his music – 'tinkering was unprofessional – like polishing your shoes at a soirée'.[1] Perfection was his aim, and this was obvious and present at the highest possible level both in his personal appearance and his music. On the other hand, this particular ballet, due to the erotic nature of its story, is quite different from the composer's other compositions. Ravel's music, similar to his personality, cannot be characterised as overtly sensual and erotic. By finally accepting to put music to the story of Daphnis and Chloe, the composer showed that he could transcend his boundaries, overcome his prohibitions and deliver a work of the highest aesthetic. Nonetheless, in preparation for the ballet, and given the erotic nature of the myth, Ravel had to extend his expressive range and surpass his usual reserved self, since he could not neglect the erotic themes which govern the story. The finalised version of the work is the result of a lot of effort by a composer who was aware that the original ending was not satisfying.

It is documented in Roger Nichols's book that in 1912 the *Valses nobles et sentimentales* (Noble and Sentimental Watzes) were performed in Ravel's orchestral version as music to the ballet *Adelaïde, ou Le Langage des fleurs* (Adelaïde, or the Language of Flowers), a story also created by the composer.[2] The orchestration was very impressive and the composer took the opportunity to adjust it a bit, thanks to the availability of a large orchestra, by adding a cello countermelody in the fourth Valse. 'Then he realised that this countermelody could, with some dexterity, be accommodated in the piano score […]. This addition, which has never been published, is a rare if not unique example of Ravel changing his mind once a work was in print. For him, tinkering was unprofessional – like polishing your shoes at a soirée'.[3] Indeed, Ravel was a perfectionist, and even though there are scarce examples of revised compositions in his entire output, he was nonetheless no stranger to perfecting a work down to its last detail. Perfection (and more specifically technical perfection in his trait) was his aim, and this was obvious and present at the highest possible level both in his personal appearance and his music.

Perfecting a work down to its last detail was frequently an agonizing task, and Ravel continued to make corrections in his scores even after the works had been published. In a

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[1] Roger Nichols, *Ravel* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 128.
[2] Ibid. 127.
[3] Ibid. 128.

letter written to Lucien Garban in March 1923, the composer wrote that the printed scores of *La Valse* and *Ma Mère L'Oye* contained quite a number of errors, and he was taking careful note of them.[4]

Besides *Adelaïde*, another rare and valuable example of music by Ravel with two extant versions, even though the earlier one was not orchestrated, is *Daphnis et Chloé* (Daphnis and Chloe), a ballet based on Longus' pastoral romance story.

In order to comprehend Ravel's approach to the composition of *Daphnis and Chloe*, it is essential to examine and present some of his character traits. This particular ballet, due to the erotic nature of its story and its large-scale character, is quite different from the composer's other works. Thus, it appears that the composition of the music proved a difficult task for Ravel to undertake. No composer could ever have been more fully conscious of what he was doing than Ravel. Physically, Ravel was a man with a short physique; however, what he lacked in height he made up for in style. His appearance was always very stylish and very fashionable.

> He set himself apart from his contemporaries also by extending his natural taste for personal elegance towards the cult of dandyism [...] In his early twenties, he was not yet the full-scale exquisite – although he wore his hair moderately long, he sported neither the carefully shaped moustache nor the beard which were soon to be such conspicuous features of his appearance – but he was taking even more care than before with the style and cut of his clothes and the overall harmony of the ensemble.[5]

Inside, the composer was a very private and secretive person, distancing himself from others.

These character traits, as mentioned above, applied to his music and compositional style as well. His attention to his physical appearance, style and fashion, is mirrored in his music. Ravel was a perfectionist, and he would not deliver music that would lack in standards. He paid attention to every detail and was demanding. His objective was technical perfection, thus he became a superb craftsman who handled his musical material with an astonishing mastery and precision. Under this lens, he had contemplated many projects which he finally abandoned because of his self-critical attitude. He was fully aware of what he was doing, leaving nothing to chance. Rollo Myers sums up quite successfully the idiosyncratic style of Ravel's compositions, and indicates the degree to which his personality influenced his music:

> His harmonies, his search for and discovery of new effects, the nervous tension [...] the hidden fever and agitation of his rhythms are sufficient proof of his sensibility; but he conceals it; he covers it with a veil that allows nothing to appear; he is not only ashamed of it but almost hates it; he denies its existence; and so he abjures all rhetoric and, from fear of excess, he is capable of putting up with what might seem to be indigence. He prefers dryness

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[4] Arbie Orenstein, 'Maurice Ravel's Creative Process', *The Musical Quarterly*, 53/4 (October 1967), 468.
[5] Gerald Larner, *Maurice Ravel* (London: Phaidon, 1966), 34.

to abundance. In short, he is so reticent with regard to his feelings that he would prefer to appear to have none at all rather than reveal them. His music often gives the impression of being a marvellous machine – a watch regulated to the tenth of a second, its mechanism adjusted to a hundredth of a millimetre.[6]

Ravel's music can sometimes be criticised as being passionless and cold, similar to his character and his reserved self. However, by finally accepting to put music to the story of Daphnis and Chloe, the composer proved that he could transcend his boundaries. The composition of the work became a painstaking task for him, not only because of his strive for perfection, but also because of the theme of the story. Ravel's music cannot be characterised as being overtly sensual and erotic. However, the composer would overcome his prohibitions and deliver a work of the highest aesthetics. Ravel's approach to the story and his attitude regarding the composition of the music are exemplary of his character and his working mode. Specifically, the difficulties he faced in completing the work, and the fact that there are two versions of the final scene indicate his constant effort to achieve clarity and technical detail, as well as his devotion to perfection. Ravel was already familiar with the sixteenth-century French translation of the romance by Jacques Amyot (1513–1593) and thus became deeply involved in constructing the libretto by being in charge of it alongside Fokine. Consequently, through his involvement the composer took away some of the physicality the story entailed, in order to reduce it to a more pastoral and bucolic idyllic setting. Ravel could not face the pagan sexuality of Daphnis and Chloe, so he was determined to reduce the two protagonists to something not far short of the common shepherd and shepherdess.

> The erotic was a sensation which Ravel had touched on only briefly in his music and, as in the *Shéhérazade* songs, discreetly rather than overtly even then. Overt sexual passion […] was basically alien to his art […]. Ravel needed to be able to imagine a setting he could identify with. More important, by taking Daphnis and Chloe out of their authentic background and displacing them into a neo-classical landscape by some such artist as Jacques-Louis David, he was separating Longus's goatherd and shepherdess from their pagan sexuality.[7]

Besides toning down the erotic elements of the story, Ravel minimised violent episodes, such as Chloe's abduction by the pirates, much to Fokine's dissatisfaction, who considered Ravel's behaviour and approach as 'a lack of virility'.[8] This 'lack of virility' would cause a lot of friction on Ravel and Fokine's collaboration, adding to the tension which was already building up because of the language barrier between them, that was hindering their communication. On his behalf, Fokine felt that he could not get through to the composer to produce music violent, vulgar and primitive enough to convincingly represent scenes from the ancient world. Nonetheless, in preparation for his first ballet, and given the erotic

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[6] Rollo H. Myers, *Ravel: Life and Works* (London: Gerald Duckworh, 1960), 110.

[7] Larner, *Maurice Ravel*, 117.

[8] Michel Fokine, *Memoirs of a Ballet Master*, trans. Vitale Fokine (London: Constable, 1961), 200.

nature of the myth, Ravel had to extend his expressive range and surpass his usual reserved self, since he could not neglect the erotic themes which govern the story.

The ballet (or *symphonie chorégraphique* – as it was presented in the 1912 programme) *Daphnis and Chloe* was commissioned to Ravel by Diaghilev for his Ballets Russes in 1909 and was not completed until 1912. Even though the first manuscript piano version of the ballet is dated 1 May 1910, the composer was not satisfied with the end of the last scene, which was going to cost him a good deal of trouble to put right. As Deborah Mawer puts it, in such a large-scale project 'the issue of averting unsatisfactory endings is echoed in the work itself, with both Ravel and the choreographer, Fokine, struggling to achieve the bacchanalian conclusion. In turn, the frenzied ending of *Daphnis* represents the beginning of a large-scale trajectory of increasingly destructive music-dance endings taken up again in *La Valse* and finally *Boléro*'.[9] Indeed, the finalised version of the work is a result of a lot of effort by a composer who was aware that the original ending was not satisfying. In two different letters, the first to Michel Calvocoressi and the latter to Jean Marnold, both dated May 1910, Ravel admitted the painstaking effort he was putting towards the creation of the work. In the former, while commenting on the share of royalties, the composer expressed his dissatisfaction with his personal share of the amount, based upon the time consumed on the work. More specifically, he noted that:

> under no circumstances would I allow my work to be performed on those terms. We spent (I say *we*, because I worked on it also) many nightly hours writing the libretto, which I later retouched, moreover, and since then I have slaved over the music for many long months. I believe it would be supremely unjust for me to receive only a third [...]. If an agreement can't be reached, I absolutely refuse to allow my ballet to be performed.[10]

In the letter to Marnold, written a few days later, Ravel simply admitted that the orchestration of the ballet was not going quickly and satisfactorily enough, so he was trying to distract himself from the problem by playing Debussy on the piano.[11] The composer was so fed up and worried with the finale that he asked the composer Louis Aubert 'in all seriousness, if he would rewrite the finale for him. Aubert, very wisely declined'.[12] Of course Ravel solved the problem and finished the finale by his usual process of working at it over and over for as long as it took to compose a satisfying finale. *Daphnis and Chloe* was definitively completed on 5 April 1912. When Ravel was asked how he was able to finally complete the finale that gave him so much trouble he replied: 'It's quite simple: I put Rimsky Korsakov's Scheherazade on the piano and copied it'.[13]

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[9] Deborah Mawer, *The Ballets of Maurice Ravel: Creation and Interpretation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 79.

[10] Arbie Orenstein (ed.), *A Ravel Reader: Correspondence, Articles, Interviews* (New York: Dover Publications, 2003), 116.

[11] Ibid. 117.

[12] Larner, *Maurice Ravel*, 125.

[13] Ibid. 132.

This troublesome final scene which was completely reworked, the 'Danse générale', on a chromatically obscured final key of A major, leads to the animated entry of young bacchanalian girls, who are soon joined by a group of young men, and along with the enamoured couple of Daphnis and Chloe are all engulfed in a joyous tumult. The libretto calls for a wild dance with other implications as well, and Ravel had to conform to those expectations by interpreting in the music the nuance that the ancient 'bacchante' bore. The final version is twice as long as the 1910 piano version, which is twelve pages long and 'immeasurably more dangerous in its use of a pagan five-in-a-bar metre rather than a civilised three-in-a-bar' and 'remains one of the most exciting passages in the choral and orchestra repertoire'.[14] The reworking of the 'Danse générale' is a striking improvement in rhythmic refinement and offers a joyful and turbulent conclusion full of emotional tension. The sheer rhythmic drive of the ending is reinforced in the final version by the complexity of the more idiomorphic and less settled 5/4 metre, which alternates with a 2/4 metre throughout the finale, compared to the original constant 3/4 or 9/8 metre. Towards the end of the final version there is a gradual metric diminution to the simpler 3/4 and 2/4, which makes the music sound more urgent, chaotic and complex. To be sure, this metrical unsettledness is uncharacteristic of Ravel's otherwise reserved self. This is proven by the existence of the earlier piano version, which follows a simpler rhythmic pattern and is more representative of the composer.

Fortunately enough, through *Daphnis and Chloe* the listener is given the opportunity to experience the more daring side of this charismatic composer. The music of this ballet proves that Ravel could be misjudged. It could be the mere fact that the erotic theme of the pagan story, a theme with which Ravel did not feel comfortable, was to become a challenge for the composer. It was an opportunity for him to extend thus his expressive language, and, in a way, throw caution to the wind. As a result, the final outcome does not disappoint. Thus, in the process of composing the ballet, the original 3/4 meter did not prove satisfactory and suitable enough to represent the concluding dance of the ballet, whereas the less common 5/4 metre of the final version, with its irregular beat, sounds more representative of a dance. Moreover, it conveys something of the mystery of the pagan story. In addition, the 5/4 meter is more representative of Greece and Greek folk dances, thus more suitable to rhythmically and aesthetically accompany the dance of these two lovers. Furthermore, this change of metre was fortified by the constant persistence of the driving triplet figure, which, even though present in the original version, it did not dominate the music, since it was more related with the compound 9/8 metre. However, its role was upgraded in the final version where it served the reinforcement of harmonic chromaticism. At a first glance, initially both versions of the 'Danse générale' are similar harmonically and melodically, except for the necessary dynamic adjustments which were meant to accommodate the changes in rhythm. Moreover, the chorus has a more extensive role in

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[14] Deborah Mawer, 'Ballet and the Apotheosis of the Dance', in Deborah Mawer (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Ravel* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 149.

the revised finale, which, in the original version, was introduced only six bars before the end. This reinforced chorus takes on the role of choruses in ancient Greek tragedies, participating in the unfolding story. Indeed, in the extended final version the chorus enters quite earlier (bar 216), with a repeated downwards chromatic motif, which is later changed into an ascending motif that resembles a falling sigh. Regarding this technique of short motifs, Orenstein notes that 'Ravel's art is essentially that of a miniaturist, who could, on occasion, convincingly fill a large canvas. Even when the canvas is relatively extended, it consists of small brush strokes expertly placed side by side. *Daphnis and Chloe* and *L'Heure espagnole* are unified by the repetition of a small number of motifs'.[15]

Undoubtedly, Ravel's endless pursuit of perfection, excellence and clarity of expression is apparent in the ballet, and more specifically in the final dance, which troubled him for approximately two years. The end result envisioned by Ravel, as the composer later explained, was 'une vaste fresque musicale, moins soucieuse d'archaïsme que de fidélité à la Grèce de mes rêves, qui s'apparente assez volontiers à celle qu'ont imaginé et dépeinte les artistes français de la fin du XVIII siècle' (a vast musical fresco, less thoughtful of archaism, than of fidelity to the Greece of my dreams, which identifies quite willingly with that imagined and depicted by late eighteenth-century French artists).[16]

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[15] Arbie Orenstein, *Ravel: Man and Musician* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), 135.
[16] Cited in André Mirambel, 'L'Inspiration grecque dans l'œuvre de Ravel', *La Revue musicale*, 19 (December 1938), 117.

The Classical Ideal Revisited:
Albert Roussel's *Bacchus and Ariadne*, Op. 43

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ABSTRACT: If the ballet *Bacchus et Ariane* (Bacchus and Ariadne) by Albert Roussel, premiered at the Paris Opera on 9 July 1935, thematically manifests the return to antiquity in neoclassical ballets and operas staged in Paris between the Two World Wars, it nevertheless reflects the limits of neoclassicism with its extreme modernisation of the myth. The decor style and the metaphysical atmosphere made by Giorgio de Chirico, fascinated by the figure of Ariadne from his series of paintings of 1912, contributed to 'dusting off' the myth. But the choreography by Serge Lifar, creating a neoclassical dance sometimes in contrast with the music, was also a mini-revolution. The complex classical ideal at work in the ballet is based on different types of classicism: references to ancient Greece, but also to French classicism (of the seventeenth century). After analysing the references (citations) to ancient musical sources (tone, rhythm, instrumentation, and so on), pictorial sources and choreographic sources (postures borrowed from poses seen in the Greek antiquity gallery at the Louvre Museum) in connection with the dramatic element of the myth, I shall show how the use of classical references was much more than a façade; such classical references constituted constructive material of the musical, choreographic and pictorial languages of an extreme, almost violent modernism. This study is based mainly on the archives of the ballet held in the library of the Paris National Opera, as well as contemporary journals kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, testimonies of artists (Memoirs of Serge Lifar and Giorgio de Chirico, letters of Roussel), and comparison with the books on Greek sources that were available to the artists in France around 1935 (Theodore Reinach, *Greek Music*, 1926, and so on).

Introduction

Being the third ballet commission by Jacques Rouché, *Bacchus et Ariane* (Bacchus and Ariadne, completed on 24 January 1931, premiered at the Paris Opera on 22 May 1931 with choreography by Serge Lifar, sets and costumes by Giorgio de Chirico, staged only five times) has been the subject of virulent criticism. The Parisian public, accustomed to ballets inspired by antiquity (from *Daphnis et Chloé* (Daphnis and Chloe, 1912) to *Apollon musagète* (Apollo)), was particularly shocked by the modernism of the sets, costumes and choreography. The classical ideal at work in *Bacchus and Ariadne* is seen at several levels: thematic, technical and aesthetic. In order to define this classical ideal, it is necessary to identify the presence of ancient references in the music, sets and choreography, and then understand how this antiquity is 'revisited'.

1. Bacchus and Ariadne, a modern subject?

1. 1. Presence of the theme of Bacchus in French art in the early twentieth century

The representation of Bacchus in French art has a long tradition since Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665) and his picture *La Nourriture de Bacchus* (The Nurture of Bacchus).[1] Already in 1882 and 1907, Debussy's *Triomphe de Bacchus* (Triumph of Bacchus) and Maurice Denis' *Bacchus et Ariane*[2] (Bacchus and Ariadne) celebrated the myth of Dionysus.

The painting by Maurice Denis, which features young ephebes on a sunny beach and is composed of disparate elements from different times (the early ancient sleepy muse on the rocks in the upper left corner of the canvas and the young Ariadne, with a modern bath towel in the foreground), is reflected in Giorgio de Chirico's heteroclite sets and costumes. The theme of Bacchus was in vogue: Paul Poiret's *Festes de Bacchus* (The Festivities of Bacchus) was given at the Pavillon Butard in 1912, a reception meant to revive the festivities of the court of Versailles and Lully's *Festes de l'Amour et de Bacchus* (The Festivities of Cupid and Bacchus, 1672). On this occasion, Poiret's guests were dressed as Olympian Gods. This duality between classical antiquity and Classicism of the seventeenth century also appears in the ballet.

1.2. The plot: A modern reading of the ancient myth

A synopsis of the plot of the ballet accompanied the premiere's program:

> Thésée, sorti du labyrinthe grâce au fil d'Ariane, débarque à Naxos avec la jeune vierge du cortège. Une danse évoque soudain la défaite du Minotaure et la délivrance d'Ariane. Soudain, apparaît Bacchus. Faisant tournoyer au dessus d'Ariane son manteau noir, il la plonge dans un sommeil profond, puis chasse vers la mer Thésée et ses compagnons, qui rembarquent. Bacchus continue sa danse dans laquelle Ariane, bien que toujours endormie, finit par se laisser entraîner. Puis, la danse, peu à peu se ralentit. Quand elle prend fin, Bacchus dépose Ariane sur un rocher et disparaît. A son réveil, prise de désespoir en se voyant abandonnée, elle va se précipiter dans les flots lorsque Bacchus surgit de derrière un rocher. Elle lui tend les lèvres; et c'est l'enchantement dionysiaque. L'île aride et déserte se couvre de feuillage et se peuple de faunes et ménades amenés par Bacchus. Le dieu pose sur le front d'Ariane une couronne d'étoiles qu'il a ravie pour elle aux constellations.[3]

> Theseus, having come out of the labyrinth with Ariadne's thread, arrives in Naxos with the young virgin from the procession. A dance suddenly evokes the defeat of the Minotaur and the liberation of Ariadne. Suddenly Bacchus appears. Twirling over Ariadne his black cloak, he

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[1] Nicolas Poussin, *La Nourriture de Bacchus*, 1626–1627, oil on canvas, 97 x 136 cm, Paris, Louvre Museum.
[2] Maurice Denis, *Bacchus et Ariane,* 1907, oil on canvas, 81 x 116 cm, Saint Petersburg, Hermitage Museum.
[3] Evening program of the premiere, published in French in Damien Top, *Albert Roussel (1869–1937): Un marin musicien* (Paris: Séguier, 2000), 117.

plunges her into a deep sleep, and pushed towards the sea Theseus and his companions, who re-embark. Bacchus continues his dance in which Ariadne, while still asleep, eventually gets caught. Then, the dance gradually slows down. When it ends, Bacchus deposits Ariadne on a rock and disappears. When she wakes up, despaired for being abandoned, she rushes into the waves when Bacchus appeared from behind a rock. She kisses him, and it is the Dionysian enchantment. The barren and desolate island is then covered with foliage and populated with fauna and maenads brought by Bacchus. The God poses in front of Ariadne a crown of stars he has plucked for her in the constellations.

Abel Hermant (1862–1950), the ballet's librettist, made only one reference to Ariadne as goddess of vegetation, but retained from the myth her salvation *in extremis* by Bacchus, before she threw herself into the sea. It is the only reference to death. Hermant excuses the escape of Theseus, whom he does not display as a fickle lover, explaining his departure as having been ordained by Bacchus. The union of Ariadne and Bacchus, two protective deities of nature, generates vegetation that emerges from the rock. Notably, the fertility of the island of Naxos – which is renowned for its vineyards, olive groves and fig trees – is attributed to Dionysus. After the final Bacchanal, Bacchus, in the ballet, flees in a chariot drawn by a panther.

2. The antique ideal of Albert Roussel

Antiquity was a constant source of inspiration in French music during the Third Republic (1870–1914). The origin of this interest in antiquity may be traced in the subjects requested for the Prix de Rome. The qualities of freshness and transparency of Roussel's music bring to mind the score of Ravel's *Daphnis and Chloe.* The influence of Hellenic art is reflected in the choice of subjects and more decisively through the instrumentation, a taste for Greek modes and formal concision. While Darius Milhaud composed *Les Euménides* (The Eumenides, 1917–1922), Op. 41, Louis Durey translated Theocritus (*Epigrammes de Théocrite* (Epigrams of Theocritus, 1918)*,* Op. 13), from whom Roussel borrowed the first of his *Deux idylles* (Two Idylls), Op. 44, 'Le Kérioklepte' (The Honeythief)*,* written in 1931 when *Bacchus and Ariadne* was played at the Paris Opera.

Roussel's First Symphony (Op. 7, subtitled 'Le Poème de la forêt' (The Poem of the Forest))*,* composed in 1904–1906 and dedicated to Alfred Cortot, includes a finale entitled 'Faunes et dryades' (Fauns and Dryads) heralding the formal concision of *Bacchus and Ariadne.* Roussel later elaborated a series of 'Greek' works, at the time he settled in his home in Vasterival at Varengeville, on the Normandy coast, including *L'Accueil des muses* (The Welcome of the Muses, 1920) and *Fanfare pour un sacre païen* (Fanfare for a Pagan Rite, 1921). In 1924, *La Naissance de la lyre* (The Birth of the Lyre) Op. 24, lyrical tale after *The Tracking Satyrs* of Sophocles, reflects Roussel's attraction to Greek mythology, through telling the story of Apollo, god of shepherds, who becomes the god of music. Hellenic colour is rendered by the use of Greek modes. How does that Hellenism transpire in *Bacchus and*

Ariadne musically? Musically, Roussel's Hellenism is reflected by the use of means employed by contemporary composers, based on their knowledge of ancient Greek music through recent scientific publications. Such a source was *La Musique grecque*[4] (Greek Music, published in 1926) by Théodore Reinach (1860–1928), who in 1893 deciphered the notation of an ancient hymn to Apollo that Fauré harmonised.

2.1. The presence of the Greek modes in *Bacchus and Ariadne*

Arthur Hoérée has shown that Roussel continuously employs a variety of modes.[5] The use of these modes directly influences the melodic turn, changing inflections, moving the supports and peaks, determining new leading-tones and dominants. Roussel uses some Greek modes, especially in *La Naissance de la lyre*, legitimated by the subject. It is certainly altered modes which Roussel uses most consistently, incorporating them into his work not only as a melodic process, but also as a modulating or harmonic principle.

For example, at the beginning of the second act of *Bacchus and Ariadne*, 'Prélude, sommeil d'Ariane' (Prelude, Ariadne's Sleep), the tonality is clearly D major but the part of the oboe, as well as that of the bassoon, plays a Phrygian mode, while the viola plays at the same time a Mixolydian mode. Roussel is juxtaposing at that point the Phrygian and the Mixolydian modes.

Bacchus and Ariadne's modal colours are integrated into a broader tonal contrast between the two distinct parts, creating a tension between the classical work and the modern world.

While the first part is essentially tonal (around A major), tonality gradually disintegrates in the second part. The lack of tonal transition between the two parts creates a tension and a vacuum comparable to the vacuum of the metaphysical painting of De Chirico. The expression of the vacuum is no longer based on the presence or absence of architectural elements, but on the opposition of sound blocks, timbres and orchestral masses. These effects of light are particularly present in the Andante of Act I showing 'Les Nuages se dissipent, le soleil réapparaît' (The clouds dissipate, the sun reappears).

Like Darius Milhaud, Roussel's use of modality can lead to polytonality, creating an oscillation between diatonicism associated to Hellenism, and impressionism or polytonality, associated with modernism. The harmonic progression at the end of 'Jeux des Ephèbes et des Vierges' (Games of Youths and Virgins, Allegro molto, Act I) of a ruthless modernity contrasts with the diatonicism.

The 'Danse du labyrinthe' (The Labyrinth Dance, Allegro vivace, Act I) is a model of dissolution of modern elements in a deliberately 'old-fashioned' context. The labyrinth is composed of small contrasting musical sections where one seems to be lost. The initial

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[4] Théodore Reinach, *La Musique grecque* (Paris: Payot, 1926).
[5] Arthur Hoérée, 'La Technique', *La Revue musicale* (special issue: 'Albert Roussel. Cinquantenaire')*,* 400–401 (1987; first published in April 1929), 58.

atonal clarinet solo, superimposed on the distinct group of strings, then disappears in a shimmering orchestration.

Just as Roussel juxtaposes Greek modes, impressionistic patterns and polytonality, in terms of rhythm the Greek metric is juxtaposed with dance rhythms inherited from the great romantic ballet.

2.2. A rhythmic treatment juxtaposing Greek metric with dance inherited from romantic ballet

After his doctoral thesis entitled 'Essai sur l'orchestique grecque' (Essay on the Greek Dance), submitted in 1895,[6] Maurice Emmanuel, wrote the *Traité de la musique grecque* (Treatise on Greek Music),[7] published in 1911. As professor of music history at the Paris Conservatoire, Emmanuel taught Greek metrics, including to Olivier Messiaen.
According to François Porcile,

> La métrique grecque repose sur un principe essentiel et simple: elle est composée de brèves et de longues, les brèves étant toujours égales entre elles et une longue vaut deux brèves. […] Elle était basée sur un second principe, d'où vient d'ailleurs le mot métrique, les vers, la musique et la danse, qui étaient intimement liés reposaient sur des mètres. Le mètre est tout simplement le groupement de deux pieds, le pied étant un rythme composé d'un certain nombre de brèves et de longues.[8]

> The Greek metric is based on a simple and basic principle: it consists of breves and longa, the shorts are always equal to each other and a long is equal to two shorts. […] It was based on a second principle, according to which verse, music and dance, all closely interrelated, were based on metres. Hence the word metric. The metre is simply the grouping of two feet, where a foot is a rhythm consisting of a number of shorts and longs.

This Greek metric influences for example the 'Jeux des ephèbes et des vierges' of the ballet.

However, the metric seems especially indebted to Stravinsky in the Allegro Energico of Act I thanks to the presence of blocks of chords that illustrate 'Il indique d'un geste impérieux, le chemin de la mer à Thésée et ses compagnons' (He indicates with an imperious gesture, the way to the sea to Theseus and his companions).[9]

To these 'false Greek' and Stravinsky-like metrics is added the dynamism of dance from the ballet, with the effects of rhythmic acceleration. He seems to favour a folly dance, like that of the 'Faunes et Dryades' (Fauns and Dryads, final movement of the First Symphony),

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[6] Maurice Emmanuel, *Essai sur l'orchestique grecque; étude de ses mouvements d'après les monuments figurés* (Paris: Hachette, 1895).
[7] Maurice Emmanuel, *Traité de la musique grecque* (Paris: Delagrave, 1911).
[8] Quoted in François Porcile, *La Belle époque de la musique française, 1871–1940* (Paris: Fayard, 1999), 240.
[9] See Albert Roussel, *Bacchus et Ariane. Suite No. 1* (Paris: Durand, 1932), 73.

where dance rhythms follow one another. Roussel seems to musically follow the evolution of fauns and dryads by dispersing, assembling and exciting them with a tireless three-four in pursuit of the nymphs of the woods.

Roussel's specific suggestive power of acceleration is particularly reflected in the extraordinary 'Danse de Bacchus' (Bacchus's Dance, Allegro, Act II), which opens with the stylised melodies of the oboe and clarinet, then enriched with the orchestral ensemble. The most extraordinary is the rhythm acceleration at the point the plot describes: 'Ariane, toujours endormie, prend part à la danse de Bacchus' (Ariadne, still asleep, takes part in the Bacchus's dance, Poco più allegro, Act I).

The reference to ancient Greece is not just an 'antique' façade, but creates a rhythmic and harmonic deconstruction pushed to its ultimate limits. Roussel does not seem to have particularly appreciated his collaboration with Serge Lifar.[10] Yet the composer and the choreographer seem to have been 'in phase' in terms of achieving the 'Pas de deux'.

Musically, the 'Pas de deux' is rendered through an extraordinary dialogue without words between Bacchus and Ariadne, illustrated by imitation entries between the flute and violins, and the use of processes such as reversal of the pitch classes, mirroring, and so on ('Ariane, toujours endormie, prend part à la danse de Bacchus' (Ariadne, still asleep, takes part in the dance of Bacchus). The quintessence of Lifar is the art of the 'Pas de deux', in which he excels.

3. Serge Lifar's antique ideal

References to ancient Greece in some ballets of the 1930s betray influences by Isadora Duncan, who was spiritually and visually inspired by Greece. Yet the 'Hellenic' choreography of this ballet deviates from the 'free dance' of Duncan. In his debut as a choreographer, Lifar, influenced by Leonide Massine and George Balanchine, with whom he had worked as a dancer before, developed a clearly identifiable personal neoclassical style, widely criticised for employing a rather small number of stylised and schematic formulas, consisting of a set of angular gestures and acrobatic jumps applied indiscriminately to all subjects. Before determining the presence of modern neoclassical elements in modern choreography, let us consider what is revealed from a relevant antique influence.

3.1. Choreographic elements influenced by antiquity. Ancient pyrrhic dance and *contrapposto* of baroque sculptures

Being an aesthete, Lifar sometimes referred to *contrapposto* baroque sculptures and to the ancient pyrrhic dance. The choreographer was inspired by the technique promoted by Diaghilev in some acrobatic moves and ways to group dancers by figure as in the Baroque

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[10] See the letter from Albert Roussel to Arthur Hoérée, 8 August 1935, quoted in Nicole Labelle (ed.), *Albert Roussel, Lettres et écrits* (Paris: Flammarion, 1987), 167.

period. Lifar did not choose to personify the monster in *Bacchus and Ariadne* by a dancer. It remains in the mythological tale; it is sufficient that the monster is suggested, it does not need to be present. But the choreographer symbolised the monster with a human pyramid of sixteen dancers, a process that he had probably borrowed from Stravinsky's *Apollon musagète.* Lifar also borrowed the use of 'plastic poses' from *Apollon musagète.*

3.2. Borrowing 'plastic poses' from *Apollon musagète*

For dancers versed in classical dance, the earthly aspect in *Bacchus and Ariadne* was striking.

Lifar was fond of ground movement, the 'plastic poses' like many halted images, with all the nuances of positions. Balanchine may have helped him to become aware of the beauty and purpose of these poses. On his arrival at the Paris Opera, Lifar had a great success in his *Les Créatures de Prométhée* (The Creatures of Prometheus) at the Paris Opera, a ballet which he danced until January 1930, and which was given 58 times at the Opera until 1942.

One of the most inventive parts of *Bacchus and Ariadne* is the moment when Thésée recounts the labyrinth episode, a flashback imposed by the narrative. The dancers are 'couchés sur le dos, dont les jambes levées verticalement s'abaissent au fur et à mesure du passage de Thésée, leurs mains gantées de blanc devant représenter le fil d'Ariane' (lying on their backs with legs raised vertically, which they lowered as Theseus passes by, their white-gloved hands supposed to represent the thread).[11]

The sense of movement in stillness created by the use of 'plastic poses' is also applied to the 'Pas de deux'. The game of balance between the two dancers opens a field of the most creative experiences. Starting a few years earlier, the vertical support was not necessarily respected: the solar figure of Apollo musagète, symbolised by the arabesque of the muses at three heights, combined the inclined arabesque of a muse and those inclined at different angles of the other two muses. In the inclined arabesque, the supporting leg becomes an oblique support forming an acute angle, and therefore so precarious, that a point of contact with the partner is needed. Practiced by Balanchine, Lifar then uses it in *Bacchus and Ariadne,* created an homage to the Ballets Russes, but he pushes the angles further. 'En déplaçant l'axe vertical, en le faisant pencher librement, je délie la pose, j'obtiens une sorte de mouvement dans l'immobilité' (By moving the vertical axis, tilting it freely, I loosen the pose, I get a kind of movement in stillness)[12] explains the choreographer. A photograph[13] by Boris Lipnitzki of the couple Ariadne-Bacchus, shows us the many arches and arabesques on different points, where the ballerina uses the dancer as a support. The fragile Olga Spessivtseva, whom the public was accustomed to see in the guise of a romantic heroine, lends her talents to angular gestures.

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[11] André Schaïkevitch, *Serge Lifar et le destin du Ballet de l'Opéra* (Paris: Richard Masse, 1971), 42.

[12] Cited in Daniel Paquette, 'De "L'Europe Galante" à "Padmavati" : L'Évolution de l'opéra-ballet', in Manfred Kelkel (ed.), *Albert Roussel, Musique et esthétique* (Paris: Vrin, 1989), 109.

[13] Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra.

The plastic poses and references to baroque postures are opposed to the extreme modernity of techniques defined as 'modern', such as the dive or the scissors.

3.3. Modern techniques

3.3.1. Dive

From the top of a diving-board, Bacchus-Lifar made a spectacular jump, a fall into the void that was completed only behind the scenes and which formed an almost cinematographic interruption for the spectator. This gliding raised the enthusiasm of the public and gave few scares to the machinists. The use of a diving-board, very frequent in Lifar's ballets, corresponds to the apotheosis of certain heroic subjects, in the spirit of *Apollon musagète.*

3.3.2. Scissors

Some viewers were shocked by the abundance of scissors in the 'Songe d'Ariane' (Dream of Ariadne). The choreography juxtaposes disparate elements from various periods, at work in the score, regrouped under the heading 'neoclassical' expression. This assimilation of disparate elements is extended or contradicted by the sets and costumes by Giorgio de Chirico.

4. The antique ideal according to De Chirico

Giorgio de Chirico was born on 10 July 1888 to Italian parents in the Greek port of Volos, formerly the place of departure of the Argonauts. In his autobiography, de Chirico described his childhood in modern Greece in his father's house, facing a harbour full of barks and steamboats, in a small town still dominated by minarets, whose homes unsuccessfully imitated the style of ports in northern Italy. He took up drawing lessons very early, first in Athens, with a 'specialist in ruins', then later, when his family was based in Munich, at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Munich, where he was a student for two years, and influenced by Arnold Böcklin, Alfred Kubin and Max Klinger.

De Chirico approached the Greek mind with an Italian mentality, uniting ancient and modern elements of the Mediterranean. In his paintings, dream unites past and present, thanks to arbitrary *mélanges* of theatrical accessories. Plaster cast, rubber gloves, cork models, head wigs. His painting seems profoundly theatrical: several of his paintings have architectural spaces suspended in time, like a scene that appears at the rising curtain before the appearance of the actors. Any metaphysical painting is in fact a setting in images of that eternal moment, where the scenery and objects are waiting indefinitely for the spectacle to come to life.

De Chirico had already worked in Paris in 1924 with sets and costumes for *La Jarre* (The Jar), a ballet based on a Pirandello's novella on Casella's music and choreography by Jean

Borlin. The project of *La Jarre* was almost born of a bet, that of a Swedish ballet company bringing to the stage a synthesis of Mediterranean culture.

It is therefore only natural that Jacques Rouché, director of the Paris Opera, called Giorgio de Chirico because he knew that the artist was deeply in love with classical culture and an admirer of ancient Greece. With the announcement of the name of the painter, drawn up with an attempt not to frighten the public, a wind of panic blew through the opera.

The sets of de Chirico echoed many previous paintings of the metaphysics period (*c.*1909–1910). Several paintings prepared sets of the ballet, especially those featuring Ariadne.

4.1. A particular affinity with the figure of Ariadne

De Chirico often used *The Sleeping Ariadne*[14] of the Vatican in his compositions, especially for *Ariana*, *the Silent Statue*.[15] Between spring 1912 and the end of 1913, he created eight paintings in which the statue of Ariadne appears. In them, he painted an image that is repeated in an empty space. De Chirico attained through these paintings the melancholy of Ariadne, that reflected the classical past of his native country. It is possible that Ariadne, a symbol of exile and loss, refers to the solitude of the painter in Paris.

His reading of Nietzsche determines his interpretation of the myth. He captured the abandoned soul of Ariadne, her awakening by Dionysus, having mourned Theseus and awaiting pleasure and ecstasy. De Chirico devoted his only sculpture to her. The world he designed for her is a labyrinthine.

The canvas *Ariadne*[16] by de Chirico, in which one can recognise *The Sleeping Ariadne*, representing the princess abandoned on an island, deserted by Theseus, refers to the introduction before the awakening of Ariadne (Act II). Atonal lines are covered in a tonal counterpoint in the style of the loneliness of an object lost in the canvas, set in a line of black outline, helping to insulate it from the surrounding universe. Polytonality created perspective effects analogous to those of the space of the canvas where the eye never achieves to fix the vision.

4.1. Other borrowings from antiquity

Other borrowings from antiquity transpire in de Chirico's organisation of the stage area as if staging 'snapshots' or archetypes from antiquity.

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[14] *The Sleeping Ariadne*: Roman Hadrianic copy of a Hellenistic sculpture of the Pergamene School of the second BCE, Rome, Vatican Museums.

[15] Giorgio de Chirico, *Ariana, The Silent Statue* (1913), oil on canvas, Düsseldorf, Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen.

[16] Giorgio de Chirico, *Ariadne* (1913), oil and graphite on canvas, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

4.1.1. An organisation of stage space owing to Greek theatre

Just as in *La Jarre*, the space of the scene is again conceived by de Chirico as a sort of plateau hanging in the air, reminiscent of the stage in classical Greek theatres, often constructed on the slope of a mountain. In 1919, writing on *Metaphysical Art*, de Chirico spoke of that subject of 'the tragedy of serenity' with the Greeks and their terraces that 'were erected like theatre seats in front of the great spectacles of nature'.[17]

At the time that de Chirico created the set designs of *Bacchus and Ariadne,* he was doing research on plasters. So he spent whole afternoons at the National Library to study old treatises on painting.

4.1.2. The staging of antique archetypes or clichés:

The writer Henri Malherbe, expressed himself in *Le Temps* as follows:

> Sur le Rideau de toile blanche derrière lequel se passera le divertissement, nous découvrons, grossièrement peinte, une monstrueuse matrone, étendue avec une molle impudeur. Un centaure, dont on n'aperçoit que les pattes de devant et un autre personnage de thiase bacchiche observent d'un œil concupiscent la commère mafflue qui sommeille. Le décor représente naïvement l'île de Naxos. A gauche, dans l'air, un chapiteau de colonne vaguement ionique. Sur la toile de fond, un large soleil, dont les rayons serpent en traits fauves. Ciel gris clair sur lequel se détachent les lignes courbes et parallèles qui désignent ingénument les vagues successives de la mer. A droite, une grotte marine grise, un rocher également gris, dans lequel on a taillé des marches et plus loin, un petit mur de pierres blanches. Une île de Naxos qui ne se trempe plus dans son azur hellénique et a subi les ravages du déboisement.[18]

> On the white canvas curtain behind which the entertainment will take place, we discover a crudely painted monstrous matron, extended with a soft immodesty. A centaur of which we see only the front legs and another character of Bacchic thiasos watching with a lustful eye the sleeping, gossiping woman. The decor naively represents the island of Naxos. On the left, in the air, a vaguely Ionic column capital. In the background, a large sun, with wild meandering rays. Clear gray sky on which parallel, curved lines ingenuously designate successive waves of the sea. To the right, a gray sea cave, a rock, also gray, on which steps were hewn and further away, a small white-stoned wall. An island of Naxos that doesn't bath in its Hellenic blue anymore and that suffered the ravages of deforestation.

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[17] Marianne W. Martin, 'Reflections on de Chirico and Arte Metafisica', *The Art Bulletin*, 60/2 (June 1978), 346.
[18] Henri Malherbe, 'Bacchus et Ariane', *Le Temps*, 26 mai 1931. Cited in Janine Cizeron, 'Décors et costumes dans les œuvres scéniques d'Albert Roussel', in Kelkel (ed.), 146.

4.1.3. Faces plastered white

The 'white-plastered' faces of Bacchus and Ariadne give them a statuary character and are reminiscent of the famous *Venus de Milo* played by Lee Miller in a white body in Jean Cocteau's film *Le Sang d'un poète* (The Blood of a Poet, 1930).

De Chirico seems to have kept from ancient Greece nothing but a series of archetypes, which, translated into a violently modern context, particularly shocked the conservative critics of the 1930s. If the critics praised the mythological subject, the music for its vivacity and its original rhythmic treatment, de Chirico's painting was criticised as grotesque.

4.2. Contrast between these references to the antique and extreme modernity

At the premiere, critics highlighted a gap between the scenery and the music. That shock created by the sets and costumes designed for the ballet is mentioned by Lifar in *Ma vie* (My Life).[19] The decor naively represented the island of Naxos. Ephebes were wearing white shorts with black stripes.

4.3. The reactions of critics on the sets and costumes

The sets have been described with a lot of food analogies: two criticisms were particularly virulent. Ghenso wrote in *Le Figaro*:

> Les décors éclatent de rire avec un sens aigu de la caricature. Une toiture Imbriquée et papelonnée pourrait bien être la mer. Dans le ciel où voguent des saucisses bombardées, une tomate, violemment écrasée contre la toile, gironne en filaments flexueux et en jus de conserves alimentaires qui parodie un soleil et ses rayons atteints de trémulations incoercibles. C'est la plus spirituelle parodie de certaines peintures pour les snobs qu'on ait effectivement osée pour les délires à la mode.[20]

> The sets laugh with a sense of caricature. A nested roof could be the sea. In the sky where bombed sausages sail, a tomato, violently crushed against the canvas, flows in flexuous filaments and canned food juice that parodies a sun and its rays with uncontrollable tremors. It is the most spiritual parody of certain paintings for snobs that one has actually dared against the delusions of fashion.

Critics also underlined the surprisingly modern colourful costumes, halfway between sportswear and antique *chiton*. In total, fifteen different costumes adorn the three heroes, sileni, virgins, ephebes, maenads, bacchantes and men-plants: no less than fifteen shades for these colourful costumes, each costume with five colours.

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[19] Serge Lifar, *Ma Vie* (Paris: Julliard, 1965).
[20] Ghenso, *Le Figaro*, 25 May 1931. Cited in Cizeron, 146.

Theses costumes had several characteristics in common: sophisticated wigs or coifs of a ram's horn for Sileni; these costumes were much propped up, shoulder pads being formed by the symbols shown on the dancers' leotards. For the bacchantes these were bunches of grapes. All the dancers wore gloves of varying lengths. The biggest attraction was undoubtedly the breasts of the female dancers accentuated by two points surrounded by circles of colour, like targets. Although the original concept was simplified in the performance, it is questionable whether this abundance of colours does not visually hinder the performance.

In 1926, in his journal *La Revolution surréaliste* (The Surrealist Revolution), Breton struck with thick lines the reproduction of de Chirico's neoclassical *Oreste et Electre* (Orestes and Electra), which dated from 1922, and obliterated it in this way like a postage stamp, while at the same time treating de Chirico as a traitor of his own genius. The surrealists presented de Chirico as a forger and a traitor. Paradoxically, he recounted in his memoirs that he does not particularly like his work as stage designer, although he was much in demand. De Chirico was accused of Neoclassicism by surrealists, and of Modernism in the theatrical circles.

Conclusion

In a manner very different from *Daphnis and Chloe,* modernity serves to reveal antique archetypes in *Bacchus and Ariadne.* That unfavourable context partly explains the very cold reception of the ballet. Albert Roussel's ballet, one of his most brilliant, suffered a fate similar to that of the choreographic 'Greek' symphony by Maurice Ravel, *Daphnis and Chloe*. Decried as a ballet, it was a huge success as a concert. Its theme found an extension in Darius Milhaud's Operas-Minutes, *L'Abandon d'Ariane* (The Abandonement of Ariadne, 1927) and *La Délivrance de Thésée* (The Liberation of Theseus, 1927). Roussel worked again with Lifar for *Aeneas*, created in Brussels in 1935, also inspired by ancient Greece.

III. FEMALE FIGURES
IN THE OPERA

The Audacity of Pénélope:
A Modern Reimagination of Homer's Heroine*

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ABSTRACT: The *œuvre* of Gabriel Fauré (1845–1924) often has been described as 'Hellenic', perhaps in reference to its adherence to classical ideals of form and expression, as well as its independence and transcendence. Surely, the composer's preference for Parnassian poets, his chamber song *Hymne à Apollon* (1894), based on a reconstructed second-century B.C. Delphic melody, and the *tragédie lyrique*, *Prométhée* (1900), offered encouragement for this attribution. But Fauré's opera *Pénélope* (1913), based on a libretto by René Fauchois (1882–1962), presents a reimagination of the Homeric heroine that reflects early twentieth-century France, even as it projects further forward, foretelling societal shifts and cultural changes from hints within the heritage of Greek antiquity.

What makes this opera by Fauchois and Fauré innovative is the portrayal of the queen of Ithaca as a strong, self-possessed and uncannily perceptive woman, one who exudes nobility and grace while exhibiting profound love for her absent husband and genuine compassion for the unfortunate. Never weeping or shrinking, as she is portrayed in the *Odyssey*, this reconceived Pénélope confronts her rude suitors with quiet confidence, defying them with her intelligence and virtue. Fauré's score complements Fauchois's libretto by endowing Pénélope with a great range of emotional expression, as well as engaging lyricism. Indeed, Fauré renders her most persuasive by investing the accompanying orchestral fabric with musical allusions that suggest her thoughts, many independent of the dramatic flow and the verbal exchanges taking place on stage, that convincingly communicate subtle states of mind.

This reinterpretation of the classical character challenged contemporary gender stereotypes and cultural norms of pre-war France by presenting a view of 'modern woman' that would not fully emerge in Western society for decades. Yet, inspiration for the conceptual evolution in *Pénélope* already existed in ancient Greek notions regarding heroism and human rights, whose importation across the gender divide represents Fauchois and Fauré's most important achievement.

Icon, Victim or… Modern Woman?

Today, Penelope is an icon of patience and prudence. Part of Western culture for three millennia, we remember her as the queen of ancient Ithaca who waited twenty years for her husband's return, shrewdly deferring politically-obliged remarriage that would crown a new king. But our common conception of the worthy woman is idealised and much simpler than its source.

A close reading of the *Odyssey* reveals a rather different Penelope.[1] Unable to evict the suitors who descended on her palace and depleted its resources, Homer's sovereign grew

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* For Jean-Michel Nectoux.

depressed and drained. Often she appeared, complained, received a rebuke and retreated in tears.[2] And at times Penelope vacillated, hinting she might yield and choose among the swains who sought her hand.[3] While constancy and circumspection dominate her depiction in the *Odyssey*, weakness and wavering appear also – qualities that contradict, and have since been suppressed from, our shared image.[4]

In contrast, the protagonist of Gabriel Fauré's opera *Pénélope* transcends both conceptions of the character.[5] Distinguished by strength, self-possession and perception, she is neither saint nor victim, but a woman who knows what she wants and is willing to wait. Librettist René Fauchois presents Pénélope as a sincere soul who loves her absent husband and exhibits genuine compassion for the less fortunate.[6] By turns she is poised, thoughtful and at times even startlingly frank, yet ever noble. Never weeping or shrinking, Pénélope chastens her boorish suitors for their vulgarity while defying them with her fidelity, all in a self-assured manner that must have seemed admirably audacious at the opera's premiere in 1913.[7] Everything one would expect of a namesake, Pénélope also

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[1] Among the many recent editions of the *Odyssey*, which dates from around 800 B.C., I have chosen *The Odyssey of Homer*, trans. Richmond Lattimore (New York: Harper, 1975) for reference in this study. Traditional book and line numbers will appear in parentheses within my citations to facilitate consultation of other editions of Homer's 12,000-line poem.

[2] Several examples of Penelope's weeping occur in the *Odyssey*; see ibid. 82–83 (4.675–720), 251–252 (16.409–450), and 254 (17.36–60).

[3] See ibid. 33 (1.245–251), 41 (2.91–92), 295–296 (19.515–518 and 525–534), 297 (19.571–580), 250 (16.394–398).

[4] Homer's character Penelope has attracted considerable study over the years, particularly in recent times; see John William Mackail, *Penelope in the Odyssey* (Cambridge, Mass.: University Press, 1916); Marylin A. Katz, *Penelope's Renown: Meaning and Indeterminacy in the Odyssey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Nancy Felson-Rubin, *Regarding Penelope: From Character to Poetics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Beth Cohen (ed.), *The Distaff Side: Representing the Female in Homer's Odyssey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Elizabeth Gregory, 'Unraveling Penelope: The Construction of the Faithful Wife in Homer's Heroines', *Helios* 23/1 (1996), 3–20; Barbara Clayton, *A Penelopean Poetics: Reweaving the Feminine in Homer's Odyssey* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2004); Richard Heitman, *Taking Her Seriously: Penelope and the Plot of Homer's Odyssey* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005).

[5] Gabriel Fauré, *Pénélope*, poème lyrique en 3 actes, paroles de René Fauchois (Paris: Heugel, 1913) (Éditions Heugel and Éditions Hamelle are now part of Éditions Alphonse Leduc, Paris). Dedicated to Camille Saint-Saëns (1835–1921), the opera was composed between 1907 and 1912, premiered in Monte Carlo in March of 1913 and performed in the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées of Paris during May of 1913, where it alternated with Igor Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du printemps*.

[6] René Fauchois (1883–1962), like Gabriel Fauré, had a career that stretched six decades, leaving a large corpus of plays, libretti, novels and poetry. His libretto for *Pénélope*, which originated as a play, was published along with the opera's score (Paris: Heugel, 1913). Fauchois may be best known for his satiric play *Boudu sauvé des eaux* (literally, *Boudu Saved from the Waters*, or, *Boudu Saved from Drowning*), adapted by Jean Renoir for his like-titled film of 1932.

[7] Pénélope never weeps anywhere in the opera, and there are no specific stage directions to this effect anywhere in Fauré's score or in Fauchois's separately-published libretto. For the latter, see René Fauchois, *Pénélope* (Paris: Heugel, 1913). There are instances that refer to lamentation, however – a different matter. In Act II scene ii, bb. 235–239, during a scene with the disguised Ulysse, she sings, 'sans cesse je le pleure', within a passage that recounts her many years of waiting for her husband's return. While one meaning of the verb *pleurer* is 'to weep', in this context its meaning is 'I lament him without end'. Shortly thereafter, Pénélope calls upon another meaning of the verb when she sings 'Mais tu pleures… pourquoi?', as she notes that her story has brought the beggar to tears: 'But you weep… why?'. Later, in bb. 333–341, during a passage in which she offers a series of theories why her husband has not returned home, Pénélope sings 'Mais, je pleure, et peut-

projects striking depth and determination, plus considerable contemporary appeal. Indeed, what may be most remarkable about this version of the mythic figure today is that it is now a century old, yet still seems novel.[8]

Surely, Fauré's opera deserves more performances and greater renown.[9] But a fuller appreciation of this masterpiece requires a grasp of its literary, cultural and stylistic contexts.[10] For instance, with their revised *Pénélope*, Fauré and Fauchois confronted

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être qu'Ulysse oubliant sa demeure et son épouse au sein des triomphes guerriers, rit et s'enivre au péril des combats que sa bravoure livre', which returns to the first meaning of the word: 'But, I lament, and perhaps Ulysse has forgotten his home and his wife in the midst of his military triumphs, laughs inebriated by the battle's perils that his bravery delivers'. All French translations in this essay are my own.

[8] It would appear that some of *Pénélope*'s early auditors could not readily distinguish its own unique story from that of the *Odyssey*. For instance, the critic Adolphe Boschot averred: 'Le livret nous montre le retour d'Ulysse. M. Fauchois, sans doute pressé par des nécessités théâtrales, a resserré en trois actes, ou plutôt en trois tableaux, le récit qui occupe les derniers chants de l'*Odyssée*. Il l'a fait d'une façon ingénieuse et avec une certaine fidélité' (The libretto shows us the return of Ulysse. Mr Fauchois, without doubt pressed by theatrical necessities, has compressed in three acts, or rather in three *tableaux*, the narrative that occupies the last chapters of the *Odyssey*. He has done this in an ingenious fashion and with a certain fidelity). (Review, *L'Écho de Paris*, 11 May 1913, 4) <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k807273q/f4.zoom.r=echo%20de%20paris. langFR.>, accessed 7 August 2012. Boschot notes that the opera brings us the story of Ulysses' return to his wife, who has been surrounded by suitors she hates, and observes that the omission of the hero's son Telemachos brings Pénélope into the foreground, but beyond these two passing references nothing else is said of her in the rest of the review! A later concert review by Jean Marnold (*Mercure de France*, 16 June 1913, 848–853) spends considerable space on situating *Pénélope* in its historical, stylistic, and literary contexts, as well as discussing Fauré's *œuvre* and orchestration, but says nothing whatsoever about the title character's portrayal or interpretation in the opera! I thank Edward Phillips for sharing photocopies of Boschot's and Marnold's reviews with me.

[9] Following its initial productions in Monte Carlo and Paris in 1913, *Pénélope* enjoyed a successful revival at the Opéra-Comique in 1919, plus five others there during the 1920s and 1930s. With profound implications, *Pénélope* opened at the Paris Opéra in 1943 during the Occupation, presenting a powerful, personalised, and unmistakably Gallic image of determined resolve in the face of overwhelming adversity. Since then it has been mounted in Argentina and Portugal, as well as in Belgium and in several cities around France, and has been heard in numerous concert performances and radio broadcasts; see Jean-Michel Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré : Les Voix du clair-obscur* (2nd edn., Paris: Fayard, 2008), 729–730. *Pénélope*'s American premiere finally came courtesy of Opera Manhattan in 1993. More recently, the work has been presented in staged and concert performances at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama (1999), the Edinburgh Festival Theatre (2000), the Opéra de Lausanne (2000), the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées (2001, 2002), Die Theater Chemnitz (2002), the Wexford Opera Festival (2005), and the Manhattan School of Music Opera Theater (2009). Currently available recordings include those on the Great Opera Performances (66.364), Gala (GL 100.705), Erato (2292-45405-2), and Warner Classics UK (2564-68800-4) labels.

[10] Surprisingly, the literature on *Pénélope* is quite small. Extended discussions appear in: Joseph de Marliave, '*Pénélope*' (1913), reprinted in Marguerite Long, *At The Piano With Fauré*, trans. Olive Senior-Ellis (New York: Taplinger, 1981), 116–130; Charles Kœchlin, *Gabriel Fauré*, tr. Leslie Orrey (London: Dennis Dobson, 1946), 55–60; Jean-Michel Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, trans. Roger Nichols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 313–336; Steven Huebner, 'Ulysse Revealed', in Tom Gordon (ed.), *Regarding Fauré* (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 1999), 207–238; James William Sobaskie, 'La Modernité et l'humanité de *Pénélope* de Gabriel Fauré', in Walter Zidaric (ed.), *Intertexturalité, Interculturalité : Les Livrets d'opéra, fin XIXe–debut XXe siècle* (Nantes: CRINI de l'Université de Nantes, 2003), 135–156; Jean-Michel Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré : Les Voix du clair-obscur*, 409–437. Contemporary opera scholarship undervalues and often ignores early twentieth-century French contributions like *Pénélope*, which fail to shock or disturb, to its own detriment. Fortunately, the eloquent advocacy of Gabriel Fauré's art by Jean-Michel Nectoux over the past four decades has nobly redressed this indifference, and I am most grateful for Mr Nectoux's kind encouragement, especially his close reading of this essay. Nectoux's biography of the composer, *Gabriel Fauré : Les Voix du clair-obscur* (2008),

contemporary and classical conceptions of the character. They also challenged gender stereotypes and cultural norms by portraying a strong woman who persevered within and despite her circumstances.[11] In effect, the two French artists applied notions of heroism and human rights from the legacy of ancient Greece across the gender divide before doing so was common.[12] And their portrait of Pénélope is persuasive and nuanced, thanks to Fauré's allusive musical style.[13] Further, the opera features a unique and intriguing sub-narrative that depends on this modern reimagination of Homer's heroine. To illuminate *Pénélope*, I propose to consider the opera from its namesake's perspective, rather than that of her husband, a viewpoint that has dominated prior accounts, through an examination of its most telling moments.[14] First, however, some historical perspective will assist.

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remains our standard reference, and its English version (1991), *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, has long deserved a new edition.

[11] Despite France's well-known progressivism with respect to many social issues, as well as its many notable women, like Marie d'Agoult (Daniel Stern), Amandine-Aurore-Lucile Dupin (George Sand) and Sidonie Gabrielle Colette in the literary domain, as well as Pauline Viardot, Lili and Nadia Boulanger, Louise Farrenc and Cécile Chaminade in the musical domain, repression of women remained widespread, institutionalised, and persistent during Fauré's lifetime and beyond. For instance, French women did not gain the right to vote until after their country's liberation in 1944 (despite the fact that the modern women's suffrage movement originated in France around the time of the French Revolution!), and married women could not open a bank account or business without their husband's permission until the Matrimonial Act of 1964. For an alternative view, see Michel Faure, *Musique et société, du Second Empire aux années vingt. Autour de Saint-Saëns, Fauré, Debussy et Ravel* (Paris: Flammarion, 1980), 218, where the author considers Fauchois's Pénélope as the embodiment of feminine stereotypes of femininity reflective of the ethics and ideology of early twentieth-century bourgeois Parisian society.

[12] Recent examinations of women in opera, including Carolyn Abbate's *Unsung Voices* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991) and Catherine Clément's *Opera, or, The Undoing of Women*, trans. Betsy Wing (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), regrettably remain silent on *Pénélope*. Likewise, Jane Fulcher's *French Cultural Politics and Music: From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999) fails to mention Fauré's opera, while Steven Huebner's *French Opera at the Fin De Siècle: Wagnerism, Nationalism, and Style* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999) contains only an oblique reference to *Pénélope* within a discussion of Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande* (473).

[13] See my examinations of Fauré's musical style in: 'Allusion in the Music of Gabriel Fauré', in Tom Gordon (ed.), *Regarding Fauré*, 163–205; 'The Emergence of Gabriel Fauré's Late Musical Style and Technique', *Journal of Musicological Research* 22/3 (2003), 223–276; 'Le Sous-texte ironique de *La Bonne chanson* de Gabriel Fauré', in Pascal Terrien (ed.), *Musique Française : Esthétique et identité en mutation 1892–1992* (Le Vallier: Editions Delatour France, 2012), 311–336; 'Chopin's Legacy in France: The Music of Gabriel Fauré', in Irena Poniatowska and Zofia Chechlinska (ed.), *Chopin 1810–2010: Ideas – Interpretations – Influence*, Proceedings of the Third International Chopin Congress (Warsaw: Fryderyk Chopin Institute, forthcoming 2013); '*Rêveries* within Fantasies: The *Barcarolles* of Gabriel Fauré', in *L'Analyse musicale aujourd'hui*, ed. Mondher Ayari, Jean-Michel Bardez & Xavier Hascher (Le Vallier: Editions Delatour France, forthcoming 2013); *The Music of Gabriel Fauré: Style, Structure, and the Art of Allusion* (Farnham: Ashgate (in preparation)).

[14] Steven Huebner's essay, 'Ulysse Revealed', which argues that '*Pénélope* is principally about the gradual reintegration of Ulysse into his own environment' (207), offers a view that proceeds from the Homeric perspective, focusing on Ulysses' actions as the dramatic dynamic. Huebner portrays Pénélope as a passive person who merely responds to her intuitions, averring that 'from her first appearance in the opera [...] Pénélope is a dreamer' (213). In effect, Huebner, like other prior commentators who have discussed *Pénélope* by proceeding from Homer and from the character of Ulysse, has suppressed the heroine's strength, and thus obscured the innovation of Fauchois and Fauré. The present study offers readers a chance to consider the opera from Pénélope's standpoint, rather than that of her husband, and invites them to decide which view seems more convincing in a critical comparison.

Hellenophilia in France

Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century France was fascinated with Greece, its interest stoked by its participation in the Greek war for independence and fueled by the rich legacy of art, architecture, literature, theatre, and democracy from Greek antiquity, that fed its own flourishing culture. Arising from eighteenth-century Neoclassicism, as well as Greece's struggle for freedom, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century French Hellenophilia was sustained by news of archaeological excavations and by artifact exhibitions, that kept Greek culture vibrant in the popular imagination. Evidence of this enthusiasm within the domain of music may be observed in the choral essay *La Révolution grecque: scène héroïque* (1826) by Hector Berlioz, as well as his opera *Les Troyens* (1858), the operettas *Orphée aux enfers* (1858) and *La belle Hélène* (1864) of Jacques Offenbach, the symphonic poems *Le Rouet d'Omphale* (1872) and *La Jeunesse d'Hercule* (1877) by Camille Saint-Saëns, plus the song cycle *Cinq mélodies populaires grecques* (1906) and the ballet *Daphnis et Chloé* (1912) of Maurice Ravel, to cite just a few Greek-themed works in diverse genres from the period. France saw some of ancient Greece in itself, and saw some of itself in contemporary Greece. All of France's artists – poets, playwrights, painters, sculptors, architects, and musicians – were inspired by Greece's achievements.

However, no Gallic composer's music was more associated with Greek antiquity than that of Gabriel Fauré. Described as 'Attic' and 'Hellenic' in his own day, Fauré's art was long admired for its classical clarity and engaging expression, as well as its determined independence and distinctive transcendence.[15] Surely, Fauré's settings of 'Parnassian' poetry and his music's modal nuances fostered this link.[16] So did his setting of the second-

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[15] In a report announcing Gabriel Fauré as the new director of the Paris Conservatoire in 1905, Julien Tiersot discusses the 'Attic' character of the composer's music; see 'Gabriel Fauré', *Zeitschrift der internationalen Musizkgesellschaft* 7 (1905), 45–52. See also: Edward Phillips, *Gabriel Fauré: A Guide to Research* (New York: Garland, 2000), 236. And in his *Un demi-siècle de musique française : Entre les deux guerres (1870–1917)* (Paris: Alcan, 1918), Tiersot goes even further: 'Par l'esprit de son art, par la forme même de son *melos*, M. Fauré, en effet, est Grec. [...] Peut-être même n'est-ce pas assez dire que de reconnaître en lui un musicien grec revivant en notre XXe siècle ; mais bien plutôt c'est l'esprit de l'hellénisme, plutôt que ses formes, qui renaît en lui' (By the spirit of his art, by the very form of his *melos*, Mr Fauré, in effect, is Greek. [...] Perhaps then it is not enough to speak of recognising in him a Greek musician reborn in our twentieth century; but instead it is the spirit of Hellenism, rather than its forms, which is reborn in him), 170–171. Similarly, Henri Collet links Fauré's music with that of ancient Greece; see 'La Musique chez soi : Œuvres nouvelles de Gabriel Fauré', *Comœdia*, 26 December 1919, 2. However, the association of Fauré's music with ancient Greece seems to have been confirmed by the biography written by his student, Charles Kœchlin, whose final chapter pursues a study of its 'Hellenic character', going so far as to specify the music's clarity as 'Athenian' and its charm as 'Doric'; see Charles Kœchlin, *Gabriel Fauré* (Paris: Alcan, 1927), 189 and 190, or Charles Kœchlin, *Gabriel Fauré*, trans. Leslie Orrey (London: Dobson, 1945), 76. Clearly, these admirers of Fauré's art were responding to its beauty, quality, and timelessness! For similar references see also René Dumesnil, *Portraits de musiciens français* (Paris: Plon, 1938), 90, 95–96, and Vladimir Jankélévitch, *Fauré et l'inexprimable* (Paris: Plon, 1974), 39–40, 59, 88, 89. However, Orledge writes that 'The Hellenic aspect of calm philosophical serenity has perhaps been overstressed in Fauré's case'; see Robert Orledge, *Gabriel Fauré* (London: Eulenburg Books, 1979), 271.

[16] *Parnassianism* was a literary style and movement that flourished in the second half of the nineteenth century in Paris and stressed objectivity, discipline, formal clarity, and emotional reserve in reaction to

century B.C. Delphic melody *Hymne à Apollon* (1894) and his *plein air* spectacle *Prométhée* (1900).[17] But Fauré's opera *Pénélope* (1913) confirmed his own personal inclination toward and natural affection for ancient Greece.

Introduced to Fauchois by soprano Lucienne Bréval, Fauré found in the poet and playwright a kindred spirit, who could supply a libretto that enabled him to exploit his intimate understanding of the female voice.[18] In turn, the younger man earned a chance to make a name for himself in Paris via social commentary, employing a familiar episode from the *Odyssey* as well as the principle of role reversal in order to present a strong woman before sophisticated audiences who enjoyed irony. Appreciation of their achievement acknowledges awareness of their authorial attitude.

Appropriation and Repurposing

Pénélope recounts the homecoming of its heroine's husband, and many dramatic elements from the *Odyssey* appear, including the unfaithful maidservants, the disguised king, the shroud ruse, the bow contest, and the suitors' massacre. By no means, however, is this a literal retelling of Homer's tale of repatriation and retribution. Indeed, *Pénélope* is more reinvention than adaptation – a trope that invokes knowledge of its antecedent to swerve to its own goals. For example, there are salient omissions in the opera's cast, like that of Penelope's son Telemachus and Ulysses' father Laërtes, which maintain attention on the separated couple. And the absence of supernatural figures, like Odysseus' protector, the goddess Athena, and his tormentor, the god Poseidon, keeps the drama human.[19] Further, there are strategic additions involving the maidservants and suitors, which establish

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Romantic excesses. Its name comes from Mount Parnassus, ancient home of the Greek Muses, and classical themes were common in its poetry. Among the Parnassian poets Fauré set were Charles Baudelaire, Théophile Gautier, Charles Marie René Leconte de Lisle, Catulle Mendès, René François Armand Prudhomme (Sully Prudhomme), and Paul Verlaine. *Modal suggestion* arises when certain pitches and voice-leading features evoke impressions of diatonic modes, like the Dorian or Lydian, within a mainly tonal (major/minor) context. For more, see my essay 'Allusion in the Music of Gabriel Fauré', 163–205, and my article, 'The Emergence of Gabriel Fauré's Late Musical Style and Technique', 223–276. While the diatonic, or 'Gregorian' modes bear names shared by ancient scales described by Plato and Aristoxenus, their tunings do not correspond to their Greek predecessors.

[17] Fauré's setting of the second-century B.C. melody of the *Hymn to Apollo*, found at Delphi and transcribed by Theodore Reinach in 1893, featured voice, flute, harp, and clarinets. *Prométhée*, a *tragédie lyrique*, premiered at the arena of Béziers in 1900, was arranged for voices, choirs, wind bands, strings, and harps, whose numbers totalled several hundreds, and it featured both sung and spoken text. Its first two performances drew 17,000 auditors, and the work was encored there the following summer. See Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré: A Musical Life*, 211, and Nectoux, *Gabriel Fauré : Les Voix du clair-obscur*, 288.

[18] Fauchois, for whom the *Odyssey* was said to be bedside reading (Jean-Michel Nectoux, liner notes to the Erato recording [2292-45405-2] of *Pénélope*, featuring Jessye Norman, 55), would later supply the libretto for Reynaldo Hahn's opera *Nausicaa* (1919). Lucienne Bréval (1869–1935) created the title *rôles* in Massenet's *Grisélidis* (1901) and *Ariane* (1906), in addition to that of Fauré's *Pénélope* (1913).

[19] Apart from Athena, the gods Poseidon and Zeus play important roles in the *Odyssey*, as do the nymph Calypso and the demi-goddess Circe.

essential premises while providing context and contrast.[20] For instance, the opening scene of the opera, which features the maidservants at work spinning thread, certainly is plausible, but it does not parallel any particular part of the *Odyssey*. Beyond that, another original scene, set on a hillside and interpolated within Act II, demonstrates Pénélope's devotion while dramatising her husband's doubt, but does not come directly from Homer. Plus, there are changes in nomenclature, like the substitution of the Gallicised version of the Roman name Ulysses for the Greek Odysseus and, of course, the Gallicised name of the title character, that signal Fauré and Fauchois's creative usurpation of their ancient source. Finally, while the story of the shroud is told three times in the *Odyssey*, always in the past tense, it dramatically unfolds within the opera to substantiate Pénélope's resolve.[21] All serve to distance and distinguish *Pénélope* from the *Odyssey*. More specifically, these creative changes enable Fauchois and Fauré to wrest control of their plot from Homer and repurpose elements appropriated from the *Odyssey* toward their own expressive ends. To ensure success, librettist and composer assert their authority at once, creating a context within which their reconceived heroine can convince and engage. Let us enter the opera's crucial opening moments.

Irony, Incongruity, *Intériorité*

Following its ever forward-focused Prélude, *Pénélope*'s first scene begins with soft violins and violas repeating a tonally ambiguous intertwining figure, with superimposed two-note oscillating gestures in winds and harp, which combine to create a hypnotic drone.[22] At curtain rise, one sees a darkened hall, draped windows, tall columns, a staircase, and several young women spinning thread.[23] Occasionally they stop, yawn, rise, and look outside, as if stifled, tired, bored, and wishful of being anywhere else![24] Example 1 presents their first words, with a sample of this truly minimalistic background music:

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[20] Penelope's handmaidens include Alkandre, Cléone, Lydie, and Phylo. Servants in *Pénélope* who have counterparts in the *Odyssey* include the handmaiden Mélantho (soprano), the nurse Euryclée (mezzo or alto), the housekeeper Eurynome (a silent role), and the shepherd Eumée (bass).

[21] See *The Odyssey of Homer*, 41–42 (2.93–110), 285–286 (19.137–156), and 348–349 (24.125–148), where the story of Penelope's shroud ruse is told by the suitor Antinoos, Penelope herself, and the ghost of the suitor Amphimedon, respectively.

[22] See my discussion of Fauré's Prélude to *Pénélope*, which appears to begin *in medias res* and seems directed toward an elusive end, in the chapter 'Chopin's Legacy in France: The Music of Gabriel Fauré', (see n. 13 above), where I characterise the broad prefixial nature of this eight-minute orchestral essay as a grand instance of *precursive prolongation*. For more on this concept, see 'Precursive Prolongation in the *Préludes* of Chopin', *Journal of the Society for Musicology in Ireland* 3 (2007–2008), 25–61 <http://www.music.ucc.ie/jsmi/index.php/jsmi/article/view/21/33>, accessed 26 July 2012.

[23] Making thread was a common activity of women in ancient Greece. For instance, Homer relates that while Telemachos was finishing his meal after returning from a trip, 'His mother sat opposite beside the pillar supporting the hall, sitting back on a chair and turning fine yarn on a distaff'; see *The Odyssey of Homer*, 255 (17.96–97). Even so, there is no spinning scene analogous to that which opens *Pénélope*.

[24] Writing to his wife, Marie, during the composition of the spinning scene, Fauré explains its nature: 'Dès que le rideau se lèvera, que verra-t-on ? Des femmes qui fileront dans une vaste salle abritée contre le soleil que l'on sent devoir être très ardent au dehors. Ce n'est donc pas ce qu'elles disent qui importe ; c'est

Example 1. *Pénélope*, Act I scene i, bb. 20–25: Handmaidens' *ennui*[25]
(Used with the kind permission of Editions Hamelle, Paris)

Seemingly innocuous, the opening elicits anticipation, suggests time and place, and evokes a languid atmosphere. But it represents a bold authorial gesture too, for the first scene of the opera is a complete fabrication – a novel interpolation without correlate in the *Odyssey*. In fact, no specific events from the epic will appear until the fourth scene. Positioning original content at the outset, librettist and composer effectively and expressly spurn their source, explicitly embrace an ironic stance and decisively depart from Homer's scenario in ways that should be obvious to all audiences.

Yet, the opening of *Pénélope* does even more. Fauré's ephemeral music, with its 7–6–7 pattern in the strings, accented on the first and last beats of each bar, plus syncopated dyads in the winds and harp, and lack of a bass, creates the aural effect of a wobbling whirl. Fauré's correspondence to his wife lends insight: 'J'étais en pleine composition du *Prélude* ; mais comme j'ai rencontré le mur fatal, celui qui ne manque jamais de se dresser, je ne me suis pas entêté plus longtemps et j'ai entamé la *Scène des Suivantes*, celles qui filent et font

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l'atmosphère, c'est leur mollesse dans leur action mêlée de rêverie. Par conséquent, c'est la symphonie qui doit commenter tout cela et leurs paroles doivent intervenir, doivent se placer sur un mouvement musical ininterrompu' (When the curtain rises, what will one see? Some women who are spinning in a vast hall shaded against the sunshine, that one senses must be very intense outside. It is thus not what they say that matters; it is the atmosphere, it is their indolence in their activity mingled with *rêverie*. Consequently, it is the orchestra that must comment on everything and their words must intervene, must take place on an uninterrupted musical movement). Philippe Fauré-Fremiet (ed.), *Gabriel Fauré : Lettres intimes* (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1951), 142.

[25] CONTRALTOS: 'The spindles are heavy', SOPRANOS: 'the palace is dark', CONTRALTOS: 'A thousand desires whisper in the darkness'. All examples in this essay were created by the author.

mollement tourner leurs rouets. [...] Les unes font nonchalamment tourner leur rouet ; les autres s'étirent et bâillent, et toutes racontent que le métier de servante est bien dur pour des filles "dont la beauté prit le corps pour asile"' (I was in the middle of the composition of the *Prélude*; but as I had encountered the inevitable wall, which never fails to rise up, I did not remain stubborn too long, and I broke into the *Scene of the Maidservants*, those who spin and indolently turn their spinning-wheels. [...] Some nonchalantly turn their spinning-wheels; others stretch themselves and yawn, and all say that the métier of servant is very hard for girls, within whose bodies beauty has taken refuge).[26] Of course, we should recall at once that spinning wheels did not exist in ancient Greece![27] Even if distaffs and spindles serve as props in contemporary productions of the opera, Fauré's music would not correspond, for its rhythm is too regularly repetitive and mechanical-sounding to correspond to the use of those hand implements.[28] With this evanescent aural tissue, Fauré introduces temporal incongruity, distancing *Pénélope* from the *Odyssey* while enabling and enhancing some subsequent events and elements that will increase the breach. For instance, the handmaidens' dialogue and demeanour suggest they feel sorry for themselves, like nineteenth-century domestics, unhappy with their lot and envious of their mistress. But in Homer's era, they would have been slaves and quite likely grateful for whatever food, shelter, and work they received. Their portrayal in *Pénélope* inserts a sense of social evolution and intensifies the opera's temporal conflict, swerving further from the *Odyssey* while establishing two important premises at the outset.

With so much attention on the handmaidens at the start of their opera, Fauchois and Fauré signal the primacy of the feminine gender within its frame, explicitly contravening the *Odyssey*'s male-centred narrative.[29] Of course, this also represents a regard for women unknown in ancient Greece, implying cultural evolution and temporal remove. And by depicting the desires and discontent of these characters at the beginning, librettist and composer suggest that some dramatic details will occur in the mental domain, encouraging us to infer their thoughts. Fauchois and Fauré's dual foci on the feminine and on cerebration surely mark *Pénélope* as modern, moving still further away from the *Odyssey*.

Soon, Mélantho muses that if she were Pénélope she would escape her enveloping sorrow, stop the waste of her wealth, and choose a suitor. Example 2 illustrates:

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[26] Fauré-Fremiet (ed.), 139 and 142.

[27] The story of the *Odyssey* is set almost two millennia before the invention of the spinning wheel, which appeared no earlier than the eleventh or twelfth century A.D., most likely in the Far East. Of course, anachronism already is a feature of the *Odyssey*, as well as the *Illiad*, which refer to historical events of four to five centuries earlier.

[28] The stage directions at the start of Act I refer to the spinners thusly: 'Some of these, weary, have abandoned their spindles'. Distaffs (*quenouilles*) are not mentioned but would seem to be implied, since the spindles on spinning-wheels are attached to the apparatus. *Rouets* (wheels) are mentioned nowhere in the score's stage directions.

[29] We must remember that even Penelope was among the *Odyssey*'s supporting characters, a very passive person in an epic driven by action, and that she is not the sole reason for Odysseus' return; for he was equally driven by the desire for homecoming itself – regaining access to his country, land, possessions, family, and friends.

Example 2. *Pénélope*, Act I scene i, bb. 140–153: Mélantho's presumption[30]
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While she sings, we sense her own image of the queen through a motif in the orchestra, as the bracket suggests. One of three distinctive melodic gestures comprising Pénélope's theme, this motif is originally introduced at the very start of the opera's Prélude, as Example 3 shows:

Example 3. *Pénélope*, Prélude, bb. 1–6: Pénélope's theme and its three motifs
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[30] MÉLANTHO: 'In the place of Pénélope, I would get out of the black *chagrin* that envelopes it [me], and rather than see my wealth lost in vain, to one of the Prétendants I would give my hand'. ALKANDRE: 'In the place of our Queen?'.

In Fauré's opera, such motifs intimate a character's *intériorité*, and they undergo immediate and continuous development to convey the impression of reflection. So, when offstage laughter later interrupts the handmaidens' *rêverie*, two strident motifs blared by horns, given in Example 4, initially simulate the servants' perception of the suitors' approach:

Example 4. *Pénélope*, Act I scene i, bb. 72–79: Suitors' motifs
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Anacrustic gestures – whose dynamics, accents, chromaticism, and disjunction convey impudence and hubris – these motifs portray the women's imagination of characters as yet unseen.[31] Despite this disruption, the handmaidens' daydreams become desires, as Example 5 sketches:

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[31] In a letter to Marie, Gabriel Fauré specified the meaning of the theme's motifs: 'Quant aux Prétendants […] j'ai cherché quelque chose qui donne l'impression de brutalité et complet contentement de soi-même' (With respect to the Prétendants […] I have searched for something that gives the impression of *brutalité* and of complete contentment of oneself). Fauré-Fremiet (ed.), 144. In contrast to the one hundred and eight suitors mentioned in the *Odyssey*, there are only five identified by name in *Pénélope*: Antinoüs (tenor), Eurymaque (baritone), Pisandre (baritone), Léodès (tenor), and Ctésippe (baritone).

Example 5. *Pénélope*, Act I scene iii, bb. 171–185: Handmaidens' desires[32]
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Here the suitors' motifs have softened and smoothed, their swinging rhythms suggesting a swaggering image. Before we see them, we too know what to expect of these brash young men. While all of this intensifies the temporal incongruity and introduces a hint of brazen behaviour, it also provides context and prepares contrast for Pénélope's character.

Defiance and Determination

Barging in, the suitors demand to see Pénélope, but the handmaidens balk, claiming their mistress cannot be disturbed.[33] Pressing toward the stairs up to the queen's chamber, Pénélope's venerable attendant, Euryclée, then emerges to confront them. Example 6 captures the action:

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[32] MÉLANTHO: 'Antinoüs is handsome...'. ALKANDRE: 'Pisandre speaks well...'. PHYLO: 'The gazes of Ctésippe have the sweetness of dawn...'. CLÉONE: 'The strength of Eurymaque fears nothing...'. LYDIA: 'Thanks to you, Léodès, I still dream...'.

[33] LÉODÈS: 'We want to see her… Have her come!'. EURYMAQUE: 'Run to tell her that for us, bitch!'.

Example 6. *Pénélope*, Act I scene iii, bb. 2–20: Eurycleé's defiance[34]
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Defiantly, Euryclée resists the suitors, calling them 'cowardly princes'. Of course, in Homeric times, she might be killed on the spot for such scorn, so Euryclée's bravery is captivating. She's gutsy, with gumption and backbone, and all the suitors can do is bicker with her, betraying their own weakness.[35] Here, too, Fauré's music portrays her *intériorité*, as accompanying motifs symbolise the threat she sees, plus the source of her strength – Ulysse's image – whose motif is sounded by the trombones. Example 7 offers that gesture's origin:

Example 7. *Pénélope*, Prélude, bb. 42–49: Ulysse's theme and its motifs
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[34] EURYCLÉE: 'How dare you come in here, cowardly princes? Away from these premises that fill with your presumptuous uproar, is there nothing at all more important for you to do?'.

[35] While Eurykleia never confronts the suitors in the *Odyssey* like her counterpart does in this scene from *Pénélope*, there is a small hint of her grit in Homer's epic when she reassures Odysseus that she will keep his homecoming secret: 'You know what strength is steady in me, and it will not give way at all, but I shall hold as stubborn as stone or iron'. See *The Odyssey of Homer*, 295 (19.493–494).

Thus, Euryclée sets an unmistakable precedent of feminine courage that will ensure Pénélope's own credibility.[36]

As the suitors ascend, Euryclée stands firm, barring the door with her body, but before they reach her, Pénélope appears above at the top of the stairs, accompanied by the largest orchestral outburst heard thus far – two statements of her main motif – that convey a powerful impression of her presence. In a letter to his wife, Fauré relates that at that moment 'the Prétendants recoil intimidated' and 'Euryclée falls to her feet'.[37] While Pénélope may not have been able to evict the suitors from her palace, her forceful persona is made manifest here by Fauré's music and the suitors' retreat.

Despite the suitors' chiding her delay and badgering her to choose among them, Pénélope publicly affirms that she is determined to wait for Ulysse's return. Example 8 demonstrates:

Example 8. *Pénélope*, Act I scene iv, bb. 65–80: Pénélope's determination[38]
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[36] Fauré considered this an important episode. In one letter to his wife he revealed: 'Le langage *orchestral* de la scène d'Euryclée contient donc *en germe* la tragédie finale' (The *orchestral* language of the scene with Euryclée contains thus *in essence* the final tragedy), and in another he explained: 'Les Prétendants veulent forcer la porte, la vieille Euryclée leur barre le passage, et l'orchestre gronde avec le thème obstiné de ces Messieurs et, par-dessous, avec un fragment du thème d'Ulysse qui leur mord les jambes' (The Prétendants want to force the door, aged Euryclée bars their passage, and the orchestra growls with the obstinate theme of the Gentlemen and, below, with a fragment of the theme of Ulysse, which gnaws at their legs). Fauré-Fremiet (ed.), 151 and 152.

[37] See ibid. 152; Similar directions appear in the orchestral score.

[38] PÉNÉLOPE: 'Ulysse said to wait for him…'. EURYMAQUE: 'Wait for him? He will never come back again!' PÉNÉLOPE: 'I am waiting for him! Minerve protects him, and if Zeus decides it, Ulysse, even this night will appear, resplendent!' It is noteworthy that Fauchois uses both Roman and Greek names in his work; Minerve is the Gallicised version of Minerva, the Roman equivalent of the Greek Athena, while Zeus' correspondent in Roman mythology was Jupiter, just as Ulysse is the Gallicised adaptation of Ulysses, the Latinate version of the Greek Odysseus. Fauchois's admixture represents further evidence of his ironic attitude toward his literary source.

Here, a trumpet reflects the thought that inspires her, that of Ulysse, and there can be no doubt of her allegiance. Undeterred, the suitors escalate their insolence, but their carping has an unexpected effect. With a surge of lyricism, Pénélope professes her devotion to her husband, as Example 9 proves:

Example 9. *Pénélope*, Act I scene iv, bb. 128–174: Pénélope's fidelity and the suitors' cruelty
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Clearly, Pénélope's loyalty is matched only by her love. Yet, as this passage shows, she also has other strong feelings. Met with cruelty, Pénélope becomes combative, accusing the suitors of waste and debauchery before swearing 'I despise you'[39] with one of Ulysse's motifs sounding in the trombones to expose what is behind her nerve. But the exchange between Pénélope and the young men does not end there.

Reaching a standoff, the suitors resume their dissipation, ordering dancers and flutists to entertain them as they drink in Pénélope's palace. At first, Fauré's music is exotic and graceful, but soon it coarsens and seems to arouse the men toward unexpected depravity, as Example 10 reveals:

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[39] 'Je vous méprise!' *Pénélope*, Act I scene iv, bb. 189–190. Pénélope's words during this denunciation seem derived from the same passage in the *Odyssey*, where the suitors are lectured about their poor behaviour and squandering of palace resources. See *The Odyssey of Homer*, 277 (18.280).

Example 10. *Pénélope*, Act I scene iv, bb. 338–362: Suitors' lust and Pénélope's outrage[40]
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Circling Pénélope, they taunt her with lusty desires, culminating with Ctésippe's wish: 'To sleep on your breast when night falls, What a dream!' Of course, Pénélope tolerates only so much of their vulgar fantasy before calling a halt. Never are the *Odyssey*'s suitors quite so crude, and never is its heroine as angry, so this swerve from Homer is most significant. Yet, the event serves to surprise, for at first, it elicits a most touching expression of Pénélopé's love, as Example 11 conveys:

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[40] ANTINOÜS: 'To have the dual wells of your eyes for a mirror, What a dream!...'. EURYMAQUE: 'To be the chosen heart toward which your heart flies, What a dream!...'. LÉODÈS: 'To inhale the scent of your opened mouth, What a dream!...'. CTÉSIPPE: 'To sleep on your breast, when the night falls, What a dream!...'. PÉNÉLOPE: 'Insult me each one with your dream!'.

Example 11. *Pénélope*, Act I scene iv, bb. 384–401: Pénélope's love[41]
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Then it inspires her to apostrophise her absent husband, addressing him in a series of increasingly impassioned characterisations, accompanied by his motifs, that enable us to share what she sees. As she invokes her absent husband, he actually arrives in disguise, as Example 12 displays:

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[41] PÉNÉLOPE: 'Ulysse, master to whom I gave the treasures of my beauty, Ulysse, righteous conqueror! Footsteps which all roads would hold the trace! Ulysse, absent love! Ulysse, mighty king!'

Example 12. *Pénélope*, Act I scene iv, bb. 402–410: Pénélope's evocation and Ulysse's arrival[42]
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A dramatic coincidence, yet it would seem he has been summoned by the very sound and power of her voice.[43]

Clearly, this is not Homer's Penelope, nor today's icon, but more of a modern woman managing under difficult circumstances. While the suitors' inevitable dispatch by Ulysse looms, one might well wonder if the opera mainly represents an inimitably French character study, or if it has other aims. Indeed, it does have its own objectives, one of which involves the unfolding of its own sub-narrative that proceeds from the unique figure of Pénélope sketched so far.

Ruses, Doubts, Revelations

Ulysse's arrival at the Ithacan palace represents the first of five self-revelations, the first of these made just to us. As in the *Odyssey*, his disguise enables him to assess the situation, including the suitors' threat, but also what love Pénélope may have sustained for him in his absence. Here, the opera's sub-narrative deals with Ulysse's doubt, for despite many incentives and chances to abandon his ruse, Ulysse's wife remains the last to know for certain that he has returned safely. Her portrayal in the preceding scenes establishes the irony, because it continually prods us to wonder why he waits, and subsequent events heighten our curiosity. From this, Fauchois and Fauré would have us believe that Ulysse's doubt represents weakness.

For example, rebuffed by the suitors when seeking shelter and food, the vagabond ventures he had heard that Ulysse was more generous, which prompts Pénélope to have him stay, verifying her own generosity. Asked who she is, Pénélope declares 'I am his wife!', demonstrating her devotion. And when a suitor objects to her kindness, she cuts him off, asserting 'I am still Queen!', affirming her authority. Later, the suitors invite the queen to their feast, but she refuses, reminding she always denies their request, so they flirt and then

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[42] PÉNÉLOPE: 'Ulysse! Each day I sense within me that my tenderness for you grows! Ulysse! my husband! Come! come! relieve my distress!' The voice of ULYSSE: 'Hola! Ho! Hola! Ho!' EURYMAQUE: 'Such rags… coming into the palace!' PÉNÉLOPE: 'Oh! I believed that it was he whom I invoked!' CTÉSIPPE: 'What do you want, wretch?'. ANTINOÜS: 'Have you some message?'.

[43] The vagabond's identity is concealed by a beard, tattered clothes, and twenty years' time, as well as the assumed pretence of being an old man bent over by a bad back.

leave with the maidservants.[44] Having heard Pénélope repudiate the suitors, as well as reaffirm her fidelity and duty, Ulysse remains disguised, despite what he has seen – still doubtful in the presence of proof.

In the next scene, Ulysse inadvertently reveals himself for the second time, now to Euryclée, who recognises the boyhood scar on his leg as she washes his feet. With Pénélope lost in thought nearby, Ulysse literally – and quite unnecessarily! – throttles his onetime nurse, claiming she must conceal her emotions from Pénélope so he can punish the suitors. Ulysse doubts her too, of course, unable to trust without threat. And when the suitors later catch Pénélope unweaving her work on Laërtes' shroud, demanding she choose among them the next day, Ulysse comforts her, but still does not abandon his pretence. He would seem to believe he must be the traditional hero who must rescue his wife, though we can see she is far from helpless. Even so, other opportunities to reveal himself soon arise, and one will bring the opera's sub-narrative on the subject of doubt to a most moving climax.

Honesty and Hesitancy

Pénélope's second act is set on a seaside hilltop dominated by a white marble column, shining like a beacon via reflected moonlight, ringed by a marble bench and crowned with a wreath of roses.[45] Pénélope enters, accompanied by Euryclée and Ulysse. With little warning, plus stunning frankness, the queen confides: 'Often, here, when night came, Ulysse dreamed against my naked breast after watching the whiteness of the last sails grow faint under the stars among the wave-beaten islets'.[46] She then explains that every evening she gathers roses to adorn it, so that when her husband approaches home in his ship, it is the first thing he sees and from it immediately knows that his loving wife waits faithfully for him. More poignant or persuasive signs of fidelity are difficult to imagine, yet these still fail to move the doubt-bound Ulysse to reveal himself to his wife.

As in a scene of the *Odyssey* originally set in the queen's palace, Pénélope questions the vagabond: 'Where do you come from? Are you fleeing some danger? What ship brought you here? What man told you the name of my spouse?' And as in the *Odyssey*, he evades her questions before concocting a story of meeting Ulysse in order to satisfy her curiosity – all while seated before the rose-bedecked white marble column symbolic of his wife's

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[44] In the *Odyssey*, the maidservants are said to have slept with the suitors, so their disloyalty in *Pénélope* is plausible. See *The Odyssey of Homer*, 278 (17.321–325); 298 (20.6–13); 332 (22.440–445). However, Saint-Saëns felt that this scene went a bit too far, as a letter to Fauré reveals: 'Par exemple, je ne goûte pas la façon avec laquelle Fauchois a travesti l'*Odyssée*, les Prétendants caressant les servantes sous les yeux de Pénélope ! C'est inadmissible et il y a bien d'autres choses dans le même cas' (For example, I do not approve of the way Mr. Fauchois has travestied the *Odyssey*, the Prétendants caressing the servants under the eyes of Pénélope! It is inadmissible and there are a good many other things along the same lines). Jean-Michel Nectoux (ed.), *Gabriel Fauré. Correspondance* (Paris: Flammarion, 1980), 284–285.

[45] No hillside scene or symbolic marble column appears in the *Odyssey*.

[46] *Pénélope*, Act II scene ii, bb. 21–38.

complete and utter devotion.[47] With this carefully-staged deception, Fauchois and Fauré effectively ask rhetorical questions of their own: 'What makes Ulysse lie? Is he obsessed with revenge? Does he think her too weak to help? Or has he lingering qualms about her fidelity?' Of course, their Symbolist aesthetic precludes providing clear and direct answers to these questions. But it does not prevent them from reposing the questions more intensely to prod us to decide for ourselves what motivates Ulysse's doubts.

Convinced by the vagabond's story that he had seen Ulysse, Pénélope concludes her husband must be dead, and her genuine grief moves the disguised man deeply, for he – and not Pénélope – weeps. Of course he weeps – how could he not? But instead of revealing himself, Ulysse continues his pretence – while sustaining his doubts – encouraging her not to give up hope, which moves her to rationalise his absence. As Example 13 suggests, she imagines her husband may have been seduced by the thrill of battle or the charms of a foreign girl:

Example 13. *Pénélope*, Act II scene iv, bb. 333–362: Pénélope's theories, Ulysse's deception[48]
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[47] *Pénélope*, Act II scene ii, bb. 148–153. In the *Odyssey*, Pénélope's interview of the vagabond occurs inside her palace. *The Odyssey of Homer*, 284–290 (19.96307). Fauchois's delay of the encounter within his dramatic sequence, and its relocation outside the palace, affords the privacy necessary for intimate conversation that unfolds. Her inquiries, of course, correspond to the familiar Homeric questions, 'What man are you and whence? Where is your city? Your parents?', which become a familiar refrain in the *Odyssey*. (Ibid. 285 (19.105, etc.)).

[48] PÉNÉLOPE: 'But I lament, perhaps Ulysse has forgotten his house and his spouse in the midst of martial triumphs, laughing and elated by the peril of combat that his bravery delivers'. ULYSSE (in disguise): 'Victory is without savour, the laurels are bitter, when one wins them far from the eyes of those dear to you...'. PÉNÉLOPE: 'Or perhaps at the knees of some unknown girl, he betrays the promises that he made to me not that long ago...'. ULYSSE: 'He whose eyes have known your eyes, far from them could he feel joyous?'. PÉNÉLOPE: 'There are other eyes under the immense skies…'. ULYSSE: 'Your absent spouse maintains his fidelity! He will return, he will return to you…'.

After this, she even speculates he has gone mad, or found another, but the vagabond refutes each theory with so much enthusiasm that Pénélope nearly recognises him from his voice. Pénélope's honesty shines in sharp contrast to Ulysse's duplicity, dramatising the depth of his doubt.

Ulysse's consolation has an unexpected outcome, for, having exhausted all possibilities, Pénélope concludes that Ulysse is either dead or has rejected her. Reaching the depths of despair, as she stands high above the sea, Pénélope contemplates suicide. She has reached her limit, yet still, she does not weep. Even more remarkably, the vagabond still does not reveal himself. Self-deluded, doubtful and too weak to admit he has been wrong, Ulysse responds with a plan to save Pénélope from her mortal intentions. In a strategic swerve from the *Odyssey*, the vagabond – and not Pénélope – proposes she stage a contest to see who could bend and string Ulysse's bow, which would show that none of the suitors measure up to her husband, and thus buy time for the king to return. She agrees, again sensing something familiar in his voice, but dismisses her reaction and departs with Euryclée. Ulysse, on the other hand, remains, revealing himself to his shepherd Eumée – now for the third time in the opera – and starts to plan his revenge. Yet, from what we have seen, Ulysse's doubt diminishes him, especially in comparison to Pénélope, and no amount of physical prowess or vengeful violence will compensate.

Heroism, Forgiveness, Symbolism

In the first two acts of *Pénélope*, Fauchois and Fauré sketch two very different types of heroes, each of which features a combination of qualities traditionally considered heroic – and, indeed, all manifested at one time or another by the *Odyssey*'s main protagonist. Both are determined, persistent, resourceful, courageous, and strong in their own ways, but one embodies selflessness, honesty, and personal sacrifice, while the other emphasises conviction, cunning and physical valour. It is not difficult to decide which is favoured here, not just from appearance order, but also from context. Pénélope prevails through negative contrast provided by the handmaidens, the precedent of feminine strength set by Euryclée, and the relative impotence (if it may be said!) of the suitors, but also by Ulysse's own limitations, most notably, his doubt. For, having chosen a course of action, he proves unable to adapt, and, perhaps bound by preconceptions of strength and an unwillingness to admit error, cannot bring himself to display a level of virtue equivalent to his wife. So, in the end, Ulysse appears the lesser light, and at the end of Act II, Pénélope prevails as the virtuous paragon within the context created by Fauchois and Fauré.

The last act of the opera owes the most to Homer, hurtling toward the suitors' inevitably violent end, but Pénélope has two intriguing contributions that add extra texture to her portrait and sustain the opera's sub-narrative. In the first of these, she *augments* the difficulty of the climactic contest, demanding that the men not only bend and string the bow – Ulysse's original conditions – but *also* shoot an arrow through the rings of twelve aligned

axes – a requirement not earlier specified.[49] What could this mean? On several occasions, Pénélope admitted sensing 'something familiar' in the sound of the disguised Ulysse's voice; so perhaps Fauchois and Fauré wish us to believe that Pénélope recognised her husband – subconsciously or otherwise – and wished to aid his plan. Yet, true to their Symbolist aesthetic, librettist and composer do not decide for us.

Pénélope's other intriguing contribution occurs during the bow contest sequence, after Ulysse has hit his mark, revealed himself to the assembly (and to us now for the fourth time), killed two suitors, and pursued the rest of the rascals offstage. Sounds of a murderous frenzy mix with cries for clemency, then all becomes quiet: Pénélope – who had just got her husband back – realises she could lose him again in an instant and we can see it in her face. In the *dénouement*, Ulysse returns and reveals himself for the fifth time, reassuring that he was alive and well. Nevertheless, the true dramatic climax of the opera occurs a little later when Pénélope welcomes her husband back into her heart. Example 14 shows that moment, which features their motifs mixing as they sing:

Example 14. *Pénélope*, Act III scene vi, bb. 44–61: Pénélope and Ulysse reunited[50]
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[49] Of course, this now corresponds to the contest conditions in the *Odyssey*; see *The Odyssey of Homer*, 311 (21.68–78). Odysseus had received the great bow as a gift from a young prince named Iphitos, who had been murdered by Heracles, but saved it at home as a memento of his friend instead of taking it into battle; see ibid. 309–310 (21.1–41). Fauchois's decision to have Ulysse propose the bow contest in response to Pénélope's contemplation of suicide makes her despair authentic.

[50] PÉNÉLOPE: 'O my joy! O my life! As before, you will again sleep on my heart…'

Here, it would seem, librettist and composer would have us believe Pénélope is not at all troubled by the manner of Ulysse's return, including his deception, but is just elated that he is back. After all, she would have every reason to be angry, or at least annoyed, but she is not. Of course, given all we have seen, those among us who cannot abandon their post-modern attitudes are left to wonder what choice words she might have for him later!

Postlude

In *Pénélope*, we encounter a *dramatis persona* not previously seen in the world of opera, a truly modern woman – albeit ensconced within an ancient and artificial setting – whose virtue exceeds that of all other characters about her, including and especially her husband, whose doubt debilitates and diminishes him while enhancing and exalting her. In *Pénélope*, we have a true hero, one bearing the admirable yet paradoxical mix of strength and vulnerability, compassion and determination, plus wisdom and single-mindedness, who needs not slay enemies or do impossible deeds to capture our imagination. And in Fauchois and Fauré, we have early twentieth-century artists who saw a different sort of hero, as well as more gender egalitarianism than previous generations had ever known, and found a way to frame these potent ideas so that all could be glimpsed by anyone willing to look below the surface of a seemingly familiar story.

Of course, *Pénélope*'s librettist and composer cannot assume credit for these notions, as their origins already lie within the legacy of ancient Greece in its concepts of 'hero' and 'democracy'. But nineteenth- and early twentieth-century France's fascination with its cultural inheritance deserves recognition for nurturing notions that would advance its society beyond itself, and for encouraging its artists to merge ideas that had somehow seemed too different to mingle. It is time, indeed past time, for this strong Pénélope to be heard. How fitting it would be for her to draw breath to sing at last at home in Greece.

The Transformation of Antique Mythical Female Figures
in Early Twentieth-Century Opera

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ABSTRACT: The appearance of many antique female heroines as title figures in operas of the early twentieth century is only one instance of the widespread renaissance of antique themes during this period. This trend should be examined in relation to a number of evolutionary writings (Nietzsche's *Die Geburt der Tragödie*, Bachofen's *Das Mutterrecht*, Freud's *Die Traumdeutung*) which transformed at the turn of the century the traditional view of Greek antiquity as it had been established about one century earlier by Winckelmann and Goethe. The influence of these theories, as well as the general intellectual atmosphere and contemporaneous socio-cultural movements, which caused the reappearance and the completely new treatment of female roles, will be illuminated with reference to two operas: Richard Strauss's *Elektra* and Egon Wellesz's *Alkestis*, both of them based on libretti by Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Emphasis will be put on the critical examination of Hofmannsthal's dramatic adaptations of the homonymous tragedies by Sophocles and Euripides respectively, their transformation in order to serve the purposes of a libretto and, furthermore, similarities and differences in the treatment of the antique subject matter by the two composers.

The reappearance of Greek myths in early twentieth-century opera is only one among several different tendencies which marked the transition to the new era. The traditional view of Greek antiquity that had been established by Winckelmann and Goethe about one century earlier seemed to have lost its validity, since a number of evolutionary writings that appeared at the end of the nineteenth century, such as Friedrich Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872) and Sigmund Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1899), presented a new vision of Greek myths. Their reception in opera instigated a completely new treatment of antique themes. The main features of this new kind of adaptation on the operatic scene were lack of historicism and opposition to a rational and noble vision of antiquity as embodied in Goethe's *Iphigenie*.[1]

In Germany the pioneers in this art were undoubtedly the operas that resulted from the collaboration between the librettist Hugo von Hofmannsthal and the composer Richard Strauss. The domination of female heroines as title figures in their operas reflects, on the one hand, the new role that women had gained in society at the turn of the century, and, on the other hand, the rise of a new scientific field, namely psychology, which at that point of time focused on the investigation of women's behaviour. In this paper the transformation of women's roles will be illuminated with reference to two operas: Strauss's *Elektra* and Egon Wellesz's *Alkestis*. These two operas are perfect case studies for a comparative examination, since the libretto of each one of them is based on an homonymous drama by Hugo von

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[1] Michael Ewans, *Opera from the Greek: Studies in the Poetics of Appropriation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 86.

Hofmannsthal, which was elaborated and transformed by the two aforementioned composers.

Hofmannsthal's *Elektra*, described as 'Tragödie nach Sophocles' (tragedy after Sophocles) was premiered on 30 October 1903 at the Kleines Theater in Berlin under the stage directions of Max Reinhardt, with Gertrud Eysold in the title role. Richard Strauss attended the premiere, which was a considerable success, and found the subject very promising for an operatic adaptation. The transformation of the theatrical play into an appropriate libretto is vividly depicted in the correspondence between librettist and composer. How, however, does *Elektra* differ from the antique tragedy marking a new tendency in the operatic history? I will examine the modifications in the opera on two separate levels: the structural (differences between the outline of the antique tragedy and the modern drama) and the conceptual (modifications in the personality and character of the protagonists).

The most important structural alteration in Hofmannsthal's theatrical play and in Strauss's opera is the creation of a dramatic and an operatic version, respectively, in which Elektra constitutes the central figure of the plot. She remains continuously on the stage until the end of the play, an innovation that constitutes a remarkable aberration from the norms of Greek tragedy since, according to the latter's strict rules, the protagonists that were not participating in a certain scene should exit the stage. Furthermore, throughout the performance Elektra is isolated in defending her duty: vengeance of her father's murder. Her isolation is intensified due to an essential structural alteration: the women's chorus at the beginning of Sophocles' tragedy is replaced in the operatic version by serving maids, who are not sympathetic to Elektra's behaviour. When one of them tries to defend the protagonist, she is immediately punished. The second pivotal structural change is that the role of the other protagonists in the play has been notably limited, especially the female ones. The antithesis between the considerably limited female roles and Elektra's serves the purpose of shedding light on different aspects of Elektra's personality. The analysis of the role alterations in the opera will lead us to the conceptual level.

Chrysonthemis' presentation in the opera focuses on her wish to have a family and children and her hope for a new life away from the palace, where her father was killed. It also reveals that for her an escape from the past is a requirement in order to move on with her life. Elektra, on the other side, seems unable to live if she does not fulfil her duty, which is to take revenge for her father's death. The antithetical way in which the two sisters react to Agamemnon's murder reveals two further leading features of Elektra's personality regarding the conceptual level: her lack of feminine identity and her identification with the murdered father. These two main characteristics cannot be separated from each other since her strong emotional bond with Agamemnon is the reason which forbids Elektra to think of her feminine identity and pushes her to act only in order to take revenge for her father's murder. These are the very characteristics that legitimate the most outstanding structural

change in Strauss's opera: the death of Elektra on stage right after her wild dance.[2] Even after the murder of Klytaemnestra and Aegisth, Elektra seems unable to proceed and goes willingly to meet her dead father. Her existence has no reason since vengeance has been taken; she has been destroyed as a person by her obsessive love for her murdered father. The scenic presence of Elektra in the opera, as conceived by Hofmannsthal, marks first of all a significant antithesis between the external appearance of the protagonist and her psychical situation:[3] she is ragged, treated by Aegisth and Klytaemnestra as a slave, but inwardly she is full of nobility, an attribute that does not allow her to forget the death of Agamemnon. In addition, she nurtures extreme feelings for her parents: her insane affection for her father causes her deep hatred for Klytaemnestra, since she suffers because of the replacement of Agamemnon in the marriage bed by Aegisth.[4]

The conflicting features of Elektra's personality in Strauss's opera form a grotesque dramatis persona, which corresponded perfectly, on the one hand, to the cultural milieu of the era – namely the decadent aesthetic of the *fin-de-siècle* movement – and, on the other, to the death problematic, that marked the early work of Hofmannsthal.

Hofmannsthal's engagement with the death thematic is also evident in his earlier dramas, although there it is not connected with the decadence features that appeared mainly at the turn of the century. *Alkestis*, a tragedy after Euripides, was written in 1894 and is Hofmannsthal's first effort to reconstruct an antique myth. About thirty years later, his drama was transformed into a homonymous opera by Egon Wellesz. The libretto of the one-act *Alkestis*, premiered in Mannheim in 1924, was written by the composer, based on a short manuscript by Hofmannsthal, in which the poet had sketched the beginning of the operatic version. Wellesz adopted in his opera the succession of scenes of the tragedy. The most important structural alteration on the part of the composer was the elimination of spoken dialogue in order to create the desired atmosphere by means of his music.[5]

Alkestis constitutes the main protagonist of the opera, despite her short scenic presence, since her sacrifice defines the progression of the play. Her first appearance on stage is the farewell scene, in which she parts from her beloved husband. In this scene two are the features, regarding the conceptual level, which distinguish the modern from the antique Alkestis: on the one hand, her fear for the upcoming death and, on the other, the manner in which she expresses her last wish to Admet.

In the tragedy of Euripides Alkestis chooses to be sacrificed and goes willingly to death without expressing any fear, since such a kind of behaviour would not be appropriate for an antique heroine. Hofmannsthal, though, intended to build in his dramatic version a more humane Alkestis. Thus, he allows the female protagonist to express clearly her anxiety

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[2] Sonja Bayerlein, *Musikalische Psychologie die drei Frauengestalten in der Oper Elektra von Richard Strauss* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1996), 72–73.

[3] Michael Ewans, *Opera from the Greek: Studies in the Poetics of Appropriation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 86.

[4] Ibid. 89.

[5] Wien, Österreichische National Bibliothek, Egon Wellesz, *Alkestis: Rede gehalten in Köln*, n.d., F13.Wellesz.660, 2.

towards the imminent death, since such a statement depicts strongly her human nature.[6] Her phrase: 'Ich habe Angst, Admet'[7] (I am afraid, Admet) only voices her fear and is by no means a denial of her sacrifice for her beloved husband. Hofmannsthal's alteration was adopted by Wellesz in the creation of his libretto, together with the final overcoming of Alkestis' fear, that depicts her self-discipline and renders her sacrifice grandeur.

In fact, there is one basic conceptual change in the operatic version which led to the two minor changes already mentioned: the different interpretation of Alkestis' immolation. In the Greek tragedy, the sacrifice of the wife is presented by Euripides as an act of love, confirming the statement of many philologists that the myth's material derives from a fairy tale. From Wellesz's point of view, Alkestis accepts the sacrifice because as a queen she has the duty to protect the well-being of her folk, in our case, the salvation of Admet's life. The sacrifice should not be justified as an act of love, according to the composer, but rather as a responsibility towards society:

> Alkestis' Opfer kann nicht für einen Menschen, mag er auch den beliebteste sein, gefordert werden, sondern für den Hüter der Gemeinschaft, für den König, der Erwählten der Götter. [...] Denn niemand darf das Opfer des Leben eines anderen hinnehmen, es sei denn der, dessen Leben über allen anderen Leben steht, der Träger der Königsmacht, die er nicht gewählt hat, sondern die ihm von Göttern auszuüben bestimmt ist.[8]

> The sacrifice of Alkestis cannot be asked for the sake of a person, no matter how beloved he might be, but for the community's guardian, for the king, the Chosen of the Gods. [...] For no one has the right to ask for the sacrifice of someone else, unless he is the one, whose life is above all, the bearer of the royal power, that he did not choose, but which was assigned to him by the Gods.

The last words of Alkestis are a request to Admet to take care of the children and refuse any substitute of the dead mother in exchange for her heroic sacrifice. In Euripides' tragedy this last wish is expressed by Alkestis as an obligation, a kind of divine command. Admet's commitment to remain faithful to the dead spouse plays an important dramaturgical role for the progression of the tragedy. Herakles at the end of the play tries to convince Admet to take in his palace the veiled woman he gained as a gift in the battle. The refusal on the part of the king of such an offer is evidence of his faithfulness to his promise to the wife. The fact that Admet kept his word is what allows him to gain his wife back. In contrast to the antique tragedy, Alkestis' last words in the operatic version are uttered as a wish to protect her children, without however demanding any promise on the part of her husband. According to this structural change, the faithfulness of Admet is not doubted at the end of the opera, since the incident in which Herakles insisted on persuading the king to accept the

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[6] Eva Maria-Nüchtern, *Hofmannsthals 'Alkestis'* (Frankfurter Beiträge zur Germanistik, 6; Bad Homburg: Gehlen Verlag, 1968), 13.

[7] Klaus E. Bohnenkamp and Mathias Mayer (eds.), *Hugo von Hofmannsthal: Sämtliche Werke. Kritische Ausgabe*, vii: *Dramen 5* (Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 1997), 48.

[8] Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Egon Wellesz, *Das Heroische und die Oper*, n.d., F13.Wellesz.659, 3.

speechless woman in his house is missing. In Wellesz's opera Admet gained Alkestis back because of his heroic act to put aside his mourning, an act equivalent with sacrifice, and to offer hospitality to his friend. While for Euripides the motive of hospitality is what enables the returning of the dead wife, in accordance with the law of the ancient Greek society, in the operatic version it is necessary to associate Admet's hospitality with his royal nobility, which does not allow him to show his mourning. This incorporation of a different meaning into the antique theme demonstrates Wellesz's effort to place the antique myth in the contemporary world.

However, the most important alteration in the operatic version is the final scene, which constitutes an excellent example of modification on both the conceptual and the structural level. In Euripides' tragedy, Alkestis remains speechless after her comeback because she is under the influence of death. Wellesz, though, evokes the queen's speech at the end of the opera with the appearance of the kids on stage. For Alkestis, seeing her kids acts as a bridge, which enables her comeback in real life and subsequently enables her to speak:

> Alkestis, die noch von den Todeswehen Ungelöste, so empfand ich, kann ohne ein großes Geschehen nicht ins Leben zurückkehren. Ich nahm ein Motiv auf, das der Dichter in der Todesszene der Alkestis eingeführt hatte, die Sorge um die Kinder. Nun ist es das Erscheinen ihrer Kinder, die der Mutter zueilen wollen, das ihre Todesstarre löst. Sie bricht in die Knie, streckt die Hände nach ihnen aus. Ein Laut entringt sich ihrem Mund, der anschwillt, und aus ihm formt sich männlich der Name des Gatten.[9]

> Alkestis, the death throes are still unsolved, I felt I can not return to life without a major event. I took on a motive, which the poet has introduced into the death scene of Alkestis, her concern for her children. Now, it is the appearance of her children, who want to hasten to the mother, that solves her rigor mortis. She falls on her knees, stretches out her hands towards them. A phoneme lingers in her mouth, that flushes and forms the name of her husband.

Wellesz's idea, the appearance of the kids in the operatic plot, was taken, once again, from Hofmannsthal's tragedy, in which Admet talks about the elusiveness of death to his children just after the farewell scene.

Summing up, Elektra and Alkestis demonstrate perfectly the interest in the death problematic in the early work of Hofmannsthal, as well as in the operatic aesthetic of the German-speaking countries at the beginning of the twentieth century. Both plots have a common structural element: the impact of a person's death on family members. In Wellesz's opera the impact remains on the domestic level, whereas in Strauss's it expands to the state level, due to the murder of Aegisth, who incorporates the role of the king. Moreover, the construction of the plot in both operas is based completely on the female protagonist, but with an important difference: the development of the plot in Wellesz's *Alkestis* is determined by the protagonist's death, while in Strauss's *Elektra* it is not death itself, but the effect of death on the female protagonist which carries forward the plot.

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[9] Egon Wellesz, 'Die Einrichtung für Musik von Hofmannsthals 'Alkestis'', *Die neue Rundschau,* 72 (1961), 30.

Moreover, despite this common structural element, the interpretation of the antique myth by the two composers is totally different. Strauss's adaptation constitutes a mental continuation of *Salome* and sheds light mainly on the psychology of the protagonists and subsequently on their acts, from a psychological perspective, a tendency that marks the composer's early work. Wellesz, on the other hand, aimed to reconstruct the genre of the opera, being in a crisis at the beginning of the new century. According to him, this was only possible through a turn to the antique myth, namely the first subject matter of this genre.

I shall conclude my paper with a thesis: Even though both Egon Wellesz and Richard Strauss used Hofmannsthal's dramatic adaptations from his early period, and although these adaptations have many elements in common, each one of them followed his own outlook on the myth, which resulted in two different operas. These operas cannot be classified under a common music tendency. *Elektra* represents the decadent aesthetic of the beginning of the new century, while *Alkestis* is an exemplar of the new objectivity movement.

IV. LITERARY PERSPECTIVES

Berlioz's *Les Troyens*: Nostalgia for the Antique Past

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ABSTRACT: This paper deals with the opera *Les Troyens* (1856–1861) by Hector Berlioz, a work partly isolated in the operatic and general milieu of romantic music. Inspired by Virgil's *Aeneid* (29–19 BC), Berlioz's opera, viewed as a text and a work of art, is constructed on the basis of multiple mediations: literary, musical, and literary-musical, of Greek mythology. This examination is focused upon this complex interweaving of textual and linguistic mediations. Namely, as much as in the literary domain Virgil's epopee is an emulation of Homer's mythical stories, so is *Les Troyens*, in the musical domain, an emulation of the French baroque genre *la tragédie en musique* again constructed upon an imitation of the Greek dramatic and poetic model. In that sense Berlioz's opera, on one hand, appears as a musical hypertext of literary, mythical narration, while, on the other hand, it establishes generic, archi-textual ties with its musical, baroque predecessor in the field of music drama.

These complex ties – which involve also the question of the relation between music and poetic text – are examined primarily in view of the narrative structure and rhetoric impulse of *Les Troyens*; equally, they are analysed with reference to a closely-woven network of *topoi*, characteristic both of great antique poetic texts and their transposition into the baroque and romantic music drama. In this way are revealed, on one hand, consistency of musical meaning and, on the other hand, correspondences between dramatic, narrative and rhetoric procedures in music, inspired by the ancient Greek heritage. These numerous parallels are explained by a common procedure of *methaphorisation*, as an ultimate procedure of configuring modern musical discourse on the basis of the universal antique principle that considers the poetic thought as musical and the musical as poetic. We can agree with Julian Rushton's statement that 'Berlioz's last works elevate nostalgia to the high artistic level, and break-out of nineteenth-century moulds by recovering the past'.[1] The irreducible modernity, even the isolation of Berlioz's late opera in the romantic milieu is, to a significant degree, due to its antique, and its baroque as antique, memory.

Representing the crowning achievement of Berlioz's total opus, composed and revised over five years, from 1856 to 1861, several years before the composer's passing, the opera *Les Troyens* was a result of one of his literary obsessions, that accompanied him from his earliest days: the obsession with the story of ill-fated Troy, of Aeneas' travels to Italy and the founding of the mighty Roman empire, as these were transposed in Virgil's *Aeneid* (created between 29 and 19 BC). Virgil's re-interpretation of Homeric myth and, at the same time, interpretation of Roman history until *Pax Augusta* (27 BC–180 AD) – a utopian representation of the new empire embodied in the person of the peace-making sovereign – was the subject matter of political interpretations of *Les Troyens* in the context of the ascendency and reign of Napoleon III.[2] However, such too simplified hermeneutics draws, in

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[1] Julian Rushton, *The Music of Berlioz* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 347.
[2] See comments related to such interpretations: Alain Patrick Olivier, 'Le Spectre d'Hector', Programme book for *Les Troyens* (Opéra National de Paris, 2006–2007 season), 72–74.

fact, attention away from the real nature of the composer's relation to the antique source, regarding mythological story, as well as Virgilian narrative.

As a matter of fact, Berlioz's utopian vision, derived from his perennial attachment to the *Aeneid*, and reflected in his libretto for *Les Troyens*, just represents a counterweight, a dialectical opposite to his nostalgic relation towards the antique past. An interpretative reference to imperial power, to tragedy which could be read in that key, would have been an anachronism, not only in relation to the aesthetics of the nineteenth century, but also to the aesthetics of the composer himself. On the contrary, a revival of the antique past, with a strong nostalgic tone, on one hand, and criticism of the present, on the other hand, enable the utopian counterbalance of *Les Troyens* to reach far beyond actual political history.

Les Troyens, so, represents a restitution of the past in two ways: as a story of mythical time and space, and as a genre. The abstract opposition of *Aufklärung* between *mythos* and *logos*, in a converse, romantic perspective, is only confirmed by reaction against it. As Gadamer would say, 'Reversing the Enlightenment's presupposition results in the paradoxical tendency toward restoration – i.e., the tendency to reconstruct the old because it is old, the conscious return to the unconscious, culminating in the recognition of superior wisdom of the primeval age of myth. But the romantic reversal of the Enlightenment's criteria of value actually perpetuates the abstract contrast between myth and reason'.[3] That restoration of 'olden times', of the 'world of myth' and 'unreflective life',[4] supports a critique not only of the immediate past, but also of the oppressive present. For Berlioz, this oppressive present exists in practically every aspect: aesthetic, ethical, political, and existential.[5]

The aesthetic measure of Berlioz's revival of antique themes, however, can be recognised in the revival of the tragic genre in music. 'At the origins of the romantic movement', George Steiner thinks, 'lies an explicit attempt to revitalize the major forms of tragedy. In fact, romanticism began as a critique of the failure of the eighteenth century to carry on the great traditions of the Elizabethan and baroque theatre. It was in the name of drama that romantics assailed neo-classicism'.[6] Berlioz also mediated his return to antique tragedy by using elements of the *tragédie en musique* of the seventeenth century and the first half of eighteenth century, as well as of its revival in Gluck's reformed opera, a genre abandoned in the early nineteenth century. As regards musical genre, the composer hereby directed his critical edge towards the superficiality of French, as well as Italian opera, the *melodrame*, and towards the revived requirements of *dramma per musica*, that leaned on

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[3] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, trans. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall (London: Continuum, 2004), 275.

[4] Ibid.

[5] 'Pensons donc à l'art par ce temps de folies furieuses et de sanglantes orgies ! [...] L'examen du passé servira, d'ailleurs, à détourner mon attention du présent'. Entry dated 16 July 1848 in Hector Berlioz, *Mémoires*, ed. Pierre Citron (Paris: Flammarion, 1991), 55. 'Fancy thinking of Art at such a period of wild folly and bloody orgies! [...] I have nothing better to do, and in recalling the past I may forget the present'. *Memoirs of Hector Berlioz: From 1803 to 1865: Comprising His Travels in Germany, Italy, Russia, and England*, trans. Rachel Scott Russell Holmes, Eleanor Holmes, Ernest Newman (New York: Dover, 1960), 18.

[6] George Steiner, *The Death of Tragedy* (London: Faber and Faber, 1961), 108–109.

poetic formulations derived from baroque musical tractates, namely, the requirements for 'poetry united with music' (*poésie unie à la musique*), for truthfulness in presenting affects and passions, for musical expressions 'deriving from the true' (*expressions sorties du vrai*) in order to achieve 'sonorities soft or grandiose' (*sonorités douces ou grandioses*).[7] The evocation of Gluck – whose work he admired – represented a poetic stronghold of this critique, whose creative counterpart was return to poetic strongholds of the French baroque opera,[8] achieved through the volume and monumental scope of the work, its dramaturgy, and finally, through its themes.

Berlioz's return to tragedy was not without contradictions even regarding the romantic context itself. It meant returning to the art of the *Ancien Régime*, questioning the social, revolutionary utopia, and romantic egotism itself, replacing it by classical distance and reserve.[9] However, Berlioz's antique – as essentially tragic – thematic and generic reference contains some distancing from, and overcoming of, personal, individual and actual contexts, as well as the historic context itself. Berlioz's story of *Les Troyens* is primarily a story of the individual's tragic fate, given in the perspective of a supra-individual and timeless human condition. According to his testimony in *Mémoires*, it was the death of Didon[10] – who

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[7] Hector Berlioz, 'L'Alceste d'Euripide, celles de Quinault et de Calzabigi. Les partitions de Lully, de Gluck, de Schweitzer, de Guglielmi et de Haendel sur ce sujet', in *A travers chants*, ed. Léon Guichard (Paris: Gründ, 1971) (originally pub. 1862), 180, 176.

[8] There are numerous of Berlioz's writings and standpoints expressing this connection between Gluck's reformed opera and the poetics of musical dramatists of the French baroque, such as: 'Sans considérer la poésie comme l'objet principal de l'opéra, il [Gluck] pensa qu'elle devait être unie à la musique, de sorte qu'il ne pût résulter de cette union qu'un seul tout dont la force expressive serait incomparablement plus grande que celle de l'un ou de l'autre art pris isolément' (Not considering poetry as the main subject of opera, he [Gluck] thought that it should be united with music in such a way that this connection should produce only a unified whole whose expressive power would be incomparably greater than the power of each one of these forms of art taken separately). Ibid. 168.

[9] To a degree, Berlioz's 'restoring' relation towards the French classical music-dramatic genre and, consequently, towards the antique paradigm on which he is essentially leaning, can be viewed as echoing a great dilemma and its immanent ideological contradiction, which accompanied literature and debates occurring in the time of Restoration: the dilemma between modernism [innovation] and tradition: 'être pour le classicisme, c'est défendre l'identité nationale mais, du même coup, adopter la ligne impériale; accepter le romantisme est un gage d'indépendance à l'égard du régime déchu, et de servilité auprès des vainqueurs' (To be in favour of Classicism is to defend national identity, but, at the same time to adopt the imperial line; to adopt Romanticism is a pledge of independence in relation to a defunct regime, and to servility towards conquerors). Alain Vaillant, Jean-Pierre Bertrand, and Philippe Régnier, 'Contestations littéraires et idéologiques: du classicisme au romantisme', *Histoire de la littérature française du XIXe siècle* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2006), 68.

[10] 'Combien de fois, expliquant devant mon père le quatrième livre de l'*Énéide*, n'ai-je pas senti ma poitrine se gonfler, ma voix s'altérer et briser! ... Un jour, déjà troublé dès le début de ma traduction orale par le vers: *At regina jamdudum saucia cura*, j'arrivais tant bien que mal à la péripétie du drame; mais lorsque j'en fus à la scène où Didon expire sur son bûcher, entourée des présents que lui fit Énée, des armes du perfide, et versant sur ce *lit, hélas! bien connu*, les flots de son sang courroucé; obligé que j'étais de répéter les expressions désespérées de la mourante [...], de décrire sa blessure et son mortel amour frémissant au fond de sa poitrine [...], les lèvres me tremblèrent, les paroles ne sortaient à peine et inintelligibles; enfin, au vers: *Quœsivit cœlo lucem ingemuitque reperta*, à cette image sublime de Didon qui *cherche aux cieux la lumière et gémit en la retrouvant*, je fus pris d'un frissonnement nerveux et, dans l'impossibilité de continuer, je m'arrêtais court'. Berlioz, *Mémoires*, 43–44. 'How often have I felt my heart throb and my voice quiver and break when construing the fourth book of the *Æneid* to my father! ... One day I was intensely affected by the sound of my

perishes by her own hand on a pyre of her memories – and not Aeneas' imperial movement, that had occupied for years the composer's intellectual and sentimental life. Exactly in that universalistic spirit of Berlioz[11] is contained the nostalgic core of his opera, as an ante-chamber and a condition of romantic utopia concerning the very *condition humaine.* The last words of Didon: 'Rome, Rome immortelle' (Rome, immortal Rome), represent just a metaphor of this utopian projection.

David Charlton determines 'Berlioz's complex relations with the past'[12] by examining the composer's debt to his teachers (Reicha and Lesueur) and their common references to early music – one could even say to the *stile antico* – in the development of the aesthetics of the ceremonial, 'cathedral music' of the composer's monumental works. Moreover, Rushton considers Berlioz's work to be not an imitation, but an emulation of 'what is no longer common currency'. He adds that 'Berlioz's last works elevate nostalgia to the high artistic level, and break nineteenth-century moulds by recovering the past'.[13]

The 'recovering' of the antique tragedy in *Les Troyens* was mediated, for historical and aesthetic reasons, by French baroque *tragédie en musique*, the musical epigone of ancient tragedy, after which the tragic paradigm in music was abandoned.[14] Berlioz's relation to it was, by no means, imitative; relations established with the baroque opera were neither hyper-textual, nor inter-textual, but essentially generic, archi-textual, called for by relations of meaning, genre and (national) musical style. In this article we are examining these relations through those *topoi* in *Les Troyens* and the French *tragédie en musique* which reflect a nostalgic relation towards the antique world and times, as well as towards those characters that support nostalgia: tragic *topoi* in Didon's monologue, the *topos* of pastoral in the song of Hylas – an non-Virgilian character, into which an Arcadian, pastoral environment of the French baroque genre is directly transposed – all the way to the *topos* of lamentation, as a carrier of collective tragic discourse.

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one voice uttering the translation of the line: *At regina jamdudum saucia cura*. I struggled bravely till I came to the crisis, where Dido expires on her funeral pile, with the gifts and weapons of her betrayer heaped round her and the familiar couch bathed in her blood. But when I came to the despairing cries of the dying queen [...] and had to describe her wounds, and the anguish of her heart rent with its fatal passion [...] my lips quivered, I could scarcely stammer the words; and when I reached the line: *Quæsivit cælo lucem ingemuitque reperta*, the sublime vision of Dido "seeking light from heaven and moaning as she found it" overwhelmed me, and I broke down utterly'. *Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, 7.

[11] On the universalistic dimension of Berlioz's interpretation of Virgil's *Aeneid*, see Ulrich Schindel, 'Perspectives extra-temporelles. Mythe et histoire dans Énéide de Virgile et *Les Troyens* de Berlioz', Programme book for *Les Troyens* (Opéra National de Paris, 2006–2007 season), 80–88.

[12] David Charlton, 'Learning the Past', in Peter Bloom (ed.), *Berlioz: Past, Present, Future*: *Bicentenary Essays* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 35.

[13] Rushton, *The Music of Berlioz*, 347.

[14] The Berliozian 'bridging' of the actual state of music, relying on the restoration of the past, is also underlined by Rushton in his comment of *Les Troyens:* 'Berlioz's dramatic ancestry is in the eighteenth century, or even the seventeenth, and anticipates the neo-classical preoccupations of the twentieth'. Ibid. 63. There is no doubt Berlioz was familiar with seventeenth-century French musical scores, which is witnessed in his writings, as well as in the already quoted writing on *Alceste*, among others by Lully. However, with respect to the stability of the model of the genre, a specific and nuanced stylistic comparative study could examine whether in 'reviving' *tragédie en musique* Berlioz's writing was closer, and in which aspects, to the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century traditions of the genre.

In Berlioz's opera as well as in the *tragédie lyrique*, monologue represents one of the central connecting points with the poetics and stylistic features of the antique tragedy. In fact, therein is concentrated the very essence of the Aristotelian tension between *mimesis* and *mythos*, between the representation of human action and poetic creation, between restitution and exaltation, imitation and composition. In that sense, the monologue is a pivotal point of the tragic discourse, governed by the characteristic topics articulating symbolism of the unconscious: the topics of Eros, Love and Death. Those themes are actualised in monologues in *Les Troyens* through a network of literary and musical *topoi* analogous to the ones articulating the discursive flow of monologue in the French baroque opera: *topoi* of love and glory, of love and revenge, of love and hate. In Berlioz's opera, these *topoi* are present in their narrative and dramaturgic dispositions, on one hand, and in the choice and changes of narrative modes, rhetorical devices and discursive registers, on the other hand.

Directing the plot of the final acts, the *topoi* are arranged in a precise, schematic pattern, defining their inner relations – logical, temporal and spatial. The fourth and fifth acts are completely integrated into that schematic pattern. The great monologue of Didon in the fourth act – completely regulated by two *topoi* that carry tragic substance (love and revenge, and love and hate) – is constructed in its entirety upon the narrative disposition of monologue along the lines of the baroque *tragédie lyrique.* The monologue proceeds through a psychologically uneven and musically elaborate configuration that rejects formal restrictions and semantic coherence, in favour of a polysemic field which is, due to a great degree of symbolism, projected in depth. The narrative structure of the recitative is clearly defined by motifs of revenge and hate, which are followed by hesitation and indecisiveness, then by regret, despair and remorse, degenerating into madness, final downfall and the act of destruction.

In this examination we are going to dwell upon one of the central *loci topici* of antique tragedy: on the decision made by the heroine to perform an act of revenge, accompanied by hate, disdain and a strong destructive impulse towards the unfaithful hero. In that sense, this decision is articulated through calling either the runaway hero himself, or the powers of Hate and forces of Heavens, to punish the fickle hero or make him come back. At this moment the monologue leaves the dominant sphere of self-reflexive utterance and becomes transformed into an appeal and an emotionally charged desire for revenge, which has a strong motivic power in a baroque *tableau vivant* of affections and passions.

Les Troyens (1856–1861), Act V tableau ii, No. 46 'Scène: En mer, voyez !'	Lully/Quinault, *Phaëton* (1683), Act III scene i	Lully/Quinault, *Armide* (1686), Act V scene v	Charpentier/Th. Corneille, *Médée* (1693), Act III scene iv
Didon: *Dieux immortels ! il part !* *Armez-Vous Tyriens !...* *Courez !... Poursuivez les Troyens !* *Corbez-vous sur les rames,* *Volez sur les eaux,* *Lancez les flammes,* *Brûlez les vaisseaux !* *Que la ville entière...* *Que dis-je ?...* *impuissante fureur !* *Subis ton sort et désespère,* *Dévore ta douleur,* *Ô malheureuse !*	Théone: *... Que la foy méprisée arme les justes Dieux;* *Que l'amour soit vangé; qu'il allume la foudre;* *Que le superbe Ambitieux* *Tombe avec la grandeur & soit réduit en poudre...* *Que dis-je, malheureuse ! hélas !* *Ce Perfide m'est cher encore,* *Et je mourrois de son trépas...*	Armide: *Il m'échappe, il s'éloigne, il va quitter ses bords;* *Il brave l'Enfer et ma rage;* *Il est déjà près du rivage,* *Je fais pour m'y traîner d'inutiles efforts.* *Traître, attends, je le tiens, je tiens ton cœur perfide.* *Ah ! je l'immole à ma fureur.* *Que dis-je ! Où suis-je, hélas ! Infortunée Armide !* *Où t'emporte une aveugle erreur ?...*	Médée: *C'en est fait, on m'y force; il faut briser les nœuds* *Qui m'attachent à ce perfide.* *... La vengeance doit seule occuper tous mes soins;* *Faisons tomber sur luy les maux qu'il me prépare,* *Et que le crime nous sépare,* *Comme le crime nous a joints.* *Malgré sa noire trahison,* *Je sens que ma tendresse est toujours plus forte...*

Table 1. Monologue of the heroine in Berlioz's *Les Troyens* and French baroque *tragédie en musique* (*topos* of love and hate/revenge)

The beginning of Didon's monologue in the fifth act activates, in the literary sense, the antique paradigm, and in the literary/musical sense, its baroque transposition. Didon appeals for vengeance to Carthaginians, who have to catch up with Énée (No. 46): 'Armez-Vous Tyriens !... Courez !... Poursuivez les Troyens ! Volez sur les eaux ! Lancez les flammes ! Brûlez les vaisseaux ! Que la ville entière...' (Tyriens to the Arms! Cartaginiains, hurry, pursue the Troyens! Fly over the water! Hurl flammes! Burn their ships! Let the whole city...),[15] referes to the identically motivated, from a psychological point of view, attempt of Armide to stop Renaud and expose him to revengeful fury in Lully's opera (*Armide*, 1686, Act V scene v): 'Traître, attends, je le tiens, je tiens ton cœur perfide. | Ah ! Je l'immole à ma

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[15] English translation of the text of *Les Troyens* by David Cairns, published in the booklet for the CD: Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, dir. Colin Davis (Philips, 416432-2, 1986).

fureur' (Traitor, wait, I hold him and his treacherous heart, |Ah, I sacrifice him to my rage);[16] Lully's Théone, in the opera *Phaëton* (1683, Act III scene i), evokes, for the same purpose, the power of Gods: 'Que la foy méprisée arme les justes Dieux; | Que l'amour soir vengé; qu'il allume la foudre; Que le superbe Ambitieux | Tombe avec la grandeur & soit réduit en poudre...' (May scorned faith arm the righteous Gods | May love be avenged, may it make lightning shine | May this haughty and ambitious creature | Fall with this greatness and be reduced to dust). In the same manner, in Charpentier's *Médée* (1693, Act III scene iv) the heroine makes her fatal revengeful decision: 'C'en est fait, on m'y force; il faut briser les nœuds | Qui m'attachent à ce perfide...' (But it's all over. I'm forced to it; I must break the bonds |That tie me to this villain).[17] In the musical sense, in Berlioz, as well as in French baroque dramatists, this *topos* is followed by strong dynamic potential, articulated through *agitato* in tempo, through short *quasi-parlando* recitative flosculae of voice which communicate commotion on the affective plane, and by the pronounced role of the orchestra, that is, *continuo.* However, a *locus communis* of Berlioz's and baroque's *imitatio della parola* is identified in two rhetoric gestures that characterise these scenes: one in the instrumental part, in the form of a *fuga* – which Berlioz articulated through ascending open chromatics – which supports the impulse for action, psychological *dynamis*; the other one in the form of a climax in the voice, realised through a stern, namely free ascending sequence. In all these examples Berlioz is basing his interpretations of the antique literary *locus communis* upon a musical *locus communis*, upon musical *topoi* and tropes inherited from the baroque era.

However, in the uneven configuration of the monologue, decisiveness, passion for revenge and hate are contrasted with indecisiveness, insecurity and doubts, while the expression of wrath and psychological *orages et ouragans* (storms and hurricanes) collides with moments of reflection, self-searching, self-pity and aroused love or compassion. At these places of rest and pause, the heroine's state of mind passes unexpectedly from strong subconscious passions into a sphere where she becomes aware of her own inconstancy of purpose. In his opera, Berlioz captures feelings of impotence and futility of revenge in Didon's question: 'Que dis-je ?... impuissante fureur ! Subis ton sort et désespère, Dévore ta douleur, | Ô mahleureuse !' (What am I saying? Pitiful rage! Submit to your fate, abandon hope, Choke back your grief, | Wretched one!). Placed in the middle of her monologue, these words arrest the previous series of passionate calls for revenge. This question represents a *locus communis* of *tragédie lyrique*: 'Que dis-je, mahleureuse ! Hélas ! | Ce perfide m'est cher encore !' (What am I saying, wretched as I am? Alas! | This perfidious Being is still dear to me). This is the question which is in contrast with Théone's previous decision to seek revenge (Lully, *Phaëton*, Act III scene i), or in contrast to the question of Armide when she realises all futility of her efforts to catch up with runaway Renaud and

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[16] English translation of the text of *Armide* by Derek Yeld, published in the booklet for the CD: Lully, *Armide*, dir. Philippe Harreweghe (Harmonia Mundi, HMC 901456-57, 1993).

[17] English translation of the text of *Médée* by John Sidwick, published in the booklet for the CD: Charpentier, *Médée*, dir. William Christie (Erato disques, 4509 96558-2, 1995).

expose him to her wrath (Act V scene v): 'Que dis-je ! où suis-je, hélas ! infortunée Armide !' (What am I saying! Where am I, alas! Poor Armide!). In the same way, the question is contrasted with the question asked by Charpentier's Medea after the words: 'Malgré sa noire trahison |Je sens que ma tendresse est toujours la plus forte' (Despite his previous treachery, |I feel that my tenderness is still gaining strength)*. These and similar passages in Berlioz's work, as well as in the work of his baroque predecessors, necessitate an instant change into a significantly slower tempo and, also, a change of tonality – procedures that support a radical change of discursive register and provoke the effect of discontinuity of the narrative flow: the continuity of the recitative, that is propelled forward by uncontrolled rage, is suddenly arrested at these points and is transformed into a series of lamentations with sudden bursts of feelings of despair, disorientation and impotence. Their common musical rhetoric equivalent is a series of descending intervals in an ascending sequence, of recitative fragments isolated by rests: a series of sighs (*suspiratio*) accompanied by increasing psychological tension (see Examples 1a, 1b and 1 c).[18]

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[18] Understandably, an analogous dramaturgical and narrative disposition of monologue, founded on an analogous topical basis, can be traced back to the Lullyian setting of the genre in France, up to the very beginnings of *la dramma per musica* in Italy. It can be found in works by Monteverdi and Cavalli, which, in a chain of influences, exerted, as is well known, a significant impact on the French genre in the second half of the seventeenth century. Space does not allow us to expand this comparative examination; however, such an examination would bear witness of historical depth and a close network of generic relations transcending epochal stylistic contexts.

Revisiting the Past, Recasting the Present:
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Example 1a. Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, Act V tableau ii, No. 46 'Scène: En mer, voyez !', bb. 22–52
(Reproduced by kind permission of Bärenreiter-Verlag Karl Vötterle GmbH & Co. KG, Kassel)[19]

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[19] Hector Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, vocal score, ed. Hugh Macdonald, arr. Eike Wernhard (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2003).

Perfide, il eſt donc vray que vous me trahiſ- fez? Teſ-

pas les pleurs que vous verſez.

BASSE-CONTINUE.

moin de ma conſtance, Et de ſon changement, Ciel, qui void la cruelle offenſe Que m'a

BASSE-CONTINUE.

fait ce parjure Amant, O Ciel! j'implore ta vangeance, Que la foy mépri-

BASSE-CONTINUE.

fée arme les juſtes Dieux; Que l'Amour ſoit vangé; qu'il allume la foudre; Que ce ſu-

BASSE-CONTINUE.

perbe ambiti- eux Tombe avec ſa grandeur & ſoit reduit en poudre. Que diſ-je! mal'heu-

BASSE-CONTINUE.

Example 1b. Lully, *Phaëton* (1683), Act III scene i[20]

ACTE CINQUIESME.
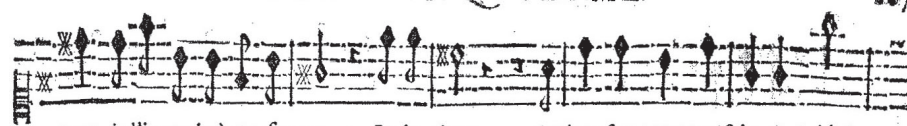
reur. je l'immole à ma fureur. Je le tiens.... je tiens son cœur perfide. Ah!

BASSE-CONTINUE.

lentemét.
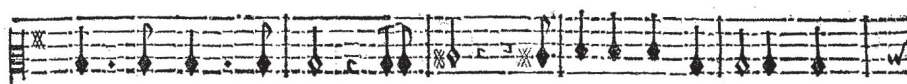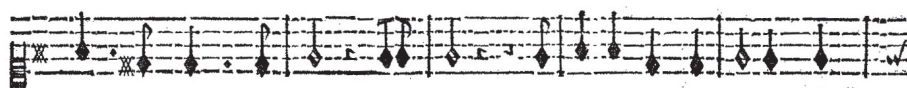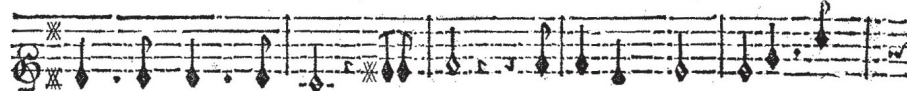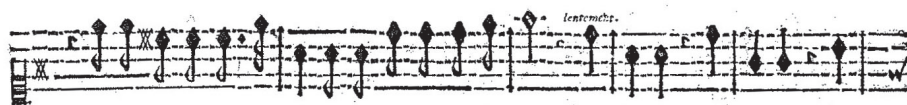
je l'immole à ma fureur. je l'immole à ma fureur. Que dis-je? où suis-je? he-

BASSE-CONTINUE.

I.l ij

Example 1c. Lully, *Armide* (1686), Act V scene v[21]

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[21] Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Armide* (Paris: Ballard, 1686).

The monologue based on the *topos* of love and revenge/hate ends, in the case of Berlioz, as well as in his baroque predecessors, by the famous *coup de théâtre*, in which, in Jean Rousset's words, 'Non seulement décors et fastes construits sont promis à la destruction, souvent la plus fastueuse, par le feu, mais cette destruction est incluse dans le spectacle' (Not only are the built decor and splendours exposed to destruction by fire, which is often most magnificent, but also that very destruction is included into the show).[22] Namely, into that spectacle of destruction, in which, to evoke Rousset again, the baroque theatre is present at its own funeral, and which begins by invocations and magical rituals in which goddesses, sorceresses, or heroines endowed with these powers, are invoking demons, forces of hell, with the sole purpose of destroying its own, illusive world.

Les Troyens, Act V tableau ii, No. 46 'Scène: En mer, voyez !'	Lully/Quinault, *Armide* (1686), Act V scene v	Charpentier/Th. Corneille, *Médée* (1693), Act III scene v
Didon: *Du prêtre de Pluton, qu'on réclame l'office !* *Pour apaiser mes douloureux transports,* *A l'instant même offrons un sacrifice* *Aux sombres déités des morts !* *Qu'on élève un bûcher !* *Que les dons du perfide* *Et ceux que je lui fis,* *Dans la flamme livide,* *Souvenirs détestés,* *disparaissent... Sortez !*	Armide: *Fuyez, Plaisirs, fuyez, perdez tous vos attraits.* *Démons, détruisez ce palais.* *Partons, et s'il se peut, que mon amour funeste* *Demeure enseveli dans ces lieux pour jamais.*	Médée: *Noires filles du Styx, Divinités terribles,* *Quittez vos affreuses prisons.* *Venez mesler à mes poisons.* *La dévorante ardeur des vos feux invisibles...*

Table 2. The heroine's invocation in Berlioz's *Les Troyens* and French baroque *tragédie en musique*

This stronghold of the baroque aesthetics of illusion, its spectacular ending, is transferred to Berlioz's *Les Troyens.* The final invocation by Berlioz's heroine of 'dark deities of the kingdom of death', leads to the erecting of a funeral pyre of her memories of love for Énée: 'Qu'on élève un bûcher ! |Que les dons du perfide |Et ceux que je lui fis, | Dans la flamme livide | Souvenirs détestés, disparaissent... Sortez !' (Let a pyre be raised, | And on it traitor's gifts | And those I gave to him, | Hateful memorials, | Vanish in the livid flames... Now go!). This scene is almost reflected in the invocation of demons in Lully's *Armide*, which leads to the destruction of her own enchanted world, to the 'dis-enchanting' of her love for Renaud: 'Fuyez, Plaisirs, fuyez, perdez tous vos attraits. |Démons, détruisez ce palais. Partons, et s'il se peut, que mon amour funeste |Demeure enseveli dans ces lieux pour jamais' (Begone, Pleasures, begone, renounce all your charms. | Demons, destroy this

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[22] Jean Rousset, *L'Intérieur et l'extérieur. Essais sur la poésie et sur le théâtre au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: José Corti, 1968), 179.

Palace. | Away! And if can be, let my cursed love | Remain buried in this place for ever). In Charpentier's *Médée*, the heroine invokes personifications of Revenge, Jealousy and Demons: 'Noires filles du Styx, Divinités terribles, | Quittez vos affreuses prisons. | Venez mesler à mes poisons. | La dévorante ardeur des vos feux invisibles' (Black daughters of Styx, terrible Divinities |Leave your appalling prisons. | Come and mix into my poisons. |The devouring ardour of your invisible fires). A comparison of the monologue endings of Berlioz's Didon and Charpentier's *Médée* confirms the interpretation of *locus communis* of antique tragedy, based on the musical *locus communis* of the French *tragédie lyrique*. In both examples, the invocation is accompanied by long pedal tones, slow tempo, 'sluggish' and pure narration in recitative, and primarily, by the domination of minor key colours and diminished harmonies, as well as by the rhetorical figure of *catabasis*, the descending movement in the orchestra which has the function of musical description of the evoked world. However, just as in the Baroque, in Berlioz the area of meaning realised by musical transposition ascribes a fundamental metaphorical layer to this *topos*. Owing to this, the invocation, in its final position in the narrative unfolding of the monologue, acquires the meaning and function of the antique catharsis: namely, these scenes contain the Augustinian *distentio animi* – the emotional rupture of a subject led to a tragic ending, to catastrophe – as well as a *denouement* of *aporiæ* of time in the eternal present. This is also communicated by the overall dark, pedal *stasis* of music (see Examples 2a and 2b).

Example 2a. Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, Act V tableau ii, No. 46 'Scène: En mer, voyez !', bb. 95–119
(Reproduced by kind permission of Bärenreiter-Verlag Karl Vötterle GmbH & Co. KG, Kassel)

Example 2b. Charpentier, *Médée* (1693), Act III scene v[23]

However, 'l'esthétique du cri et de la plainte' (the aesthetics of lamentation and cry) as Berlioz's aesthetics was called by Michel Guiomar,[24] derived from a double paradigm – the

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[23] Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *Médée* (Paris: Ballard, 1694).
[24] Michel Guiomar, *Le Masque et le phantasme: L'Imagination de la matière sonore dans la pensée musicale de Berlioz* (Paris: José Corti, 1970), 165 ff.

antique and the baroque one – is joined, in Berlioz, as well as in the case of baroque musical dramatists, by the aesthetics of the *merveilleux*, together with accompanying meanings: a nostalgic statement and its utopian counterpart, equalised with the *topos* of the beautiful, enchanted nature. Moreover, the dialectics of the hero's tragic fate, on one hand, and the Arcadian, idyllic world and distant mythical times, on the other hand, represent a constitutive element of the French baroque opera. Tragedy and pastoral, action and image; reality and dream; mimesis of 'human action' and a sumptuous decor of fictional, idyllic landscapes; all these are never separated in it.

Les Troyens (1856-1861), Act V, tableau i, No. 38 'Chanson d'Hylas'	Lully/Quinault, *Roland* (1685), Act IV scene ii	Lully/Quinault, *Armide* (1686), Act II scene iii
Hylas: *Vallon sonore,* *Où dès l'aurore* *Je m'en allais chantant, hélas !* *Sous tes grands bois chantera-t-il encore,* *Le pauvre Hylas ?* *Berce mollement sur ton sein sublime,* *Ô puissante mer, l'enfant de Dindyme !*	Roland: *Ah ! j'attendray longtemps ! la nuit est loin encore.* *Quoy le soleil veut-il luire toujours ?* *Jaloux de mon bonheur, il prolonge son cours,* *Pour retarder la beauté que j'adore.* *Ô nuit ! favorisez mes désirs amoureux.* *Pressez l'astre du jour de descendre dans l'onde;* *Dépliez dans les airs vos voiles ténebreux:* *Je ne troubleray plus par mes cris douloureux* *Votre tranquillité profonde...*	Renaud: *Plus j'observe ces lieux et plus je les admire.* *Le fleuve coule lentement* *Et s'éloigne à regret d'un séjour si charmant.* *Les plus aimables fleurs et le plus doux Zéphire* *Parfument l'air qu'on y respire.* *Non, je ne puis quitter des rivages si beaux.* *Un son harmonieux se mêle aux bruits des eaux...*

Table 3. *Topos* of beautiful nature in Berlioz's *Les Troyens* and French baroque *tragédie en musique*

In the poem of Trojan sailor Hylas, at the beginning of Act V of *Les Troyens* (No. 38), sung on the shores of Carthage among Trojan tents, we find an elegiac mood and a nostalgic disposition, conveyed through the motif of sea, as a union of the poetry of sentiment and the poetry of *plein air*: 'Vallon sonore | Où dès l'aurore | Je m'en allais chantant, hélas !' (Oh echoing wale | Where from first light | I used to wander singing, alas!). The motif of water and its numerous variants – streams, sea, waves, waterfalls and fountains, wide and powerful rivers, torrents and storms – as well as their accompanying intertwined motifs, appear in the baroque opera as a mirror of the inner side of being, as a metaphor of hopelessness, suffering and melancholy. In its area of meaning, elements of permanence and transience, strength and weakness, eternity and finality, interchange places and appear as an irreplaceable part of the *topos* of beautiful nature and its enchanting powers. Therefore the connection between the motif of water and the motif of dream represents

one of the most significant structural elements of the *tragédie lyrique*. Similarly, in Berlioz's scene, the motif of water is, as in the baroque genre, joined with the motif of dream in its two aspects: daydreaming and real sleep. At the end of the Hylas scene, while daydreaming of his homeland, the sailor is lulled into sleep by waves of the sea. The refrain of his song goes like this: 'Berce mollement sur ton sein sublime, | O puissante mer, l'enfant de Dindyme ! (Il s'endort)' (Rock gently on your mighty breast, | Eternal sea, the child of Dindyma! (He goes to sleep))*.* The enchantment of beautiful nature – a magical circle leading into daydreaming and sleep by introducing fantastic elements into the baroque opera – is the *topos* which directs well-known scenes. For example, the scene of Atys' dream (from Lully's opera *Atys*, Act III scene iv): 'Il n'est permis qu'aux bruits des eaux | De troubler la douceur d'un si charmant silence' (Only the sound of water | Lulls the sweetness of such delightful silence).[25] Or the scene of Prometheus' dream, also in a work by Lully, *Phaëton* (Act I scene v): 'Ici, l'ombre des bois, le murmure des Flots, | Tout invite à la douceur du repos' (Here, the shadow of trees and murmur of the stream, | Invites to serenity of repose). And the scene of daydreaming of Roland from the homonymous opera by Lully after Ariosto: 'O nuit, ... pressez l'astre du jour de descendre dans l'onde... Je ne troublerai plus... votre tranquillité profonde...' (O night, tell the star of the day to descend into waves… I will not disturb any longer your profound tranquillity...).[26] Finally, the famous scene of Renaud's dream from Lully's *Armide* (Act II scene iii): 'Plus j'observe ces lieux et plus je les admire. | Le fleuve coule lentement...' (The more I see this place the more it pleases me. | This river slowly cools...). Owing to a set of expressive musical means, the song of Berlioz's Trojan sailor evokes melancholic confessions of baroque heroes, enchanted and sleeping. In an equally baroque opposition to narrative flow accompanying tragic plot, this scene creates a stopping of 'real' time and action, a freezing of events, and fixes the picture: by domination of consonance, which pushes aside the conflict, tension and disintegration in favour of continuity, homogeneity and affect of the whole. This configuration of meaning, in baroque opera, as well as in Berlioz, is supported by closed, strophic and *rondo* forms and tonal homogeneity. Illustrative figures – underlined by the use of 'pastoral' instruments, primarily by figures of descending and ascending movement, often treated as *ostinato* – produce a spatial effect and realise a musical mimetic equivalent of stage performance. A pronounced, iconic aspect of musical mimesis – a picture of endless, beautiful nature – has, however, as its main purpose, the formation of a pictorial background for continuous, confessional narration, which is marked by the *cantabile* in the voice part (see Examples 3a, 3b and 3c).

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[25] English translation of the text of *Atys* by Derek Yeld, published in the booklet for the CD: Lully, *Atys*, dir. William Christie (Harmonia Mundi, HML 5901257-59, 1987).

[26] English translation of the text of *Roland* by Mary Pardoe, published in the booklet for the CD: Lully, *Roland*, dir. Christophe Rousset (Ambroisie, ABM 9949, 2004).

ACTE V^e
1er Tableau

Le théâtre représente le bord de la mer couvert de tentes troyennes. On voit les vaisseaux troyens dans le port. Il fait nuit. Un jeune matelot phrygien chante en se balançant au haut du mât d'un navire. Deux sentinelles montent la garde devant les tentes au fond de la scène.

FÜNFTER AKT
Erstes Bild

Strand, mit trojanischen Zelten bedeckt. Man sieht die trojanischen Schiffe im Hafen. Es ist Nacht. Ein junger phrygischer Matrose schaukelt singend auf dem Mast eines Schiffes. Zwei Wachposten stehen vor den Zelten im Bühnenhintergrund.

No. 38 Chanson d'Hylas

Nr. 38 Lied des Hylas

120

Example 3a. Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, Act V tableau i, No. 38 'Chanson d'Hylas', bb. 1–56
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ROLAND;

BASSE-CONTINUE.

Ah! j'attendray longtemps, la

BASSE-CONTINUE.

Example 3b. Lully, *Roland* (1685), Act IV scene ii[27]

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[27]Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Roland* (Paris: Ballard, 1685).

ACTE SECOND.

81

BASSE-CONTINUE.

doux.

doux.

doux.

doux.

Plus j'obferve ces lieux, & plus je les ad-

BASSE-CONTINUE.

L

Example 3c. Lully, *Armide* (1686), Act II scene iii

The *topos* of lamentation in the chorus, for example in the sixth scene of Act I of *Les Troyens*, the pantomime of crying over the fate of Andromache and her son Astyanax, activates, in an impressive way, a double reference, at the same time antique and baroque. Pantomimic presentation in music inherently has a strong baroque foothold, but the

chorus's role marks the root and source of antique tragedy and all its essential elements. In the words of George Steiner, the chorus 'touches here on the essential distinction between the open and the closed theatre'.[28] In this distinction also lies the difference between the baroque opera, in itself an example of open theatre, and Shakespearian or classical French tragedy of the seventeenth century. Again to evoke Steiner, 'choral drama can be a halfway house to opera'.[29] That is why the baroque request for *la dramma per musica* is closer to Greek tragedy than to classical drama. The indirect role of the chorus from the baroque *tragédie en musique* in Berlioz's reference is quite a logical choice in the context of the revival of the antique subject matter. That is all the more pronounced in scenes of lamentation, which are quite frequent in the French baroque opera.

Les Troyens (1856-1861), Act I, No. 6 'Pantomime'	Lully/Quinault, *Atys* (1676), Act V scene vii	Lully/Quinault, *Proserpine* (1680), Act III scene vii
Chœur: *Andromaque et son fils !* *Ô destin !* *Ces clameurs de la publique allégresse...* *Et cette immense tristesse,* *Ce deuil profond.* *Ces muettes douleurs !...*	Chœur: *Que le malheur d'Atys afflige tout le monde !* *Que tout sente icy bas,* *L'horreur d'un si cruel trépas.* *Pénétrons tous les cœurs d'une douleur profonde:* *Que les bois, que les eaux, perdent tous leurs appas...*	Cérès: *Ô malheureuse Mère !* Chœur : *Ô malheureuse Cérès !* Cérès : *Ah ! Quelle injustice cruelle !* *Ô Dieux ! Pourquoi m'arrachez-vous* *Un bien que je trouvois si doux ?...*

Table 4. Lamentation in Berlioz's *Les Troyens* and French baroque *tragédie en musique*

Two choruses from Lully's operas – one from *Proserpine* (1680) and the well-known final scene from *Atys* (1676) – which lament the fates of the heroes, indicate literary and musical analogies in the transposition of these *topoi*. The literary *topos*, as a rule, begins with the figure *exclamatio*. In *Les Troyens* the figure is: 'Oh destin !' (Oh fate!); in *Atys* (Act V scene vii) it is: 'Que le mahleur d'Atys afflige tout le monde !' (Let Atys' misfortune afflicts everyone on earth!); in *Proserpine*: 'Oh, trop malheureuse Cérès !' (Oh too unfortunate Ceres!). The exclamation is followed by often repeated, lamenting sequences, owing to which the chorus also acquires original, ritual meaning. In *Les Troyens*: 'Et cette immense tristesse, | Ce deuil profond' (And this immense sorrow |This profound loss); in *Atys*: 'Que tout sente, icy bas, | L'horreur d'un si cruel trépas' (Let everyone on earth feel |The horror of so cruel a death). These initial cries flow into a rhetorical figure of *suspiratio*, the effect of a descending appoggiatura on minor key chords and diminished chords that carry the whole metaphorical transfer. In all three scenes, the effect of this figure is underlined by the

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[28] Steiner, *The Death of Tragedy*, 37.
[29] Ibid.

overall pronounced descending tendency of the melodic movement, by the monumentality of characters emphasised by slow tempo and the characteristic division of the chorus in an antiphonal way, namely, by responsory dialogue between the choir and the soloist (see Examples 4a, 4b and 4c).

Example 4a. Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, Act I, No. 6 'Pantomime', bb. 10–31
(Reproduced by kind permission of Bärenreiter-Verlag Karl Vötterle GmbH & Co. KG, Kassel)

ATYS, TRAGEDIE.

Que tout sente, icy bas, L'hor-reur d'un si cruel tré- pas, Que le malheur d'A-

Que tout sente, icy bas, L'hor-reur d'un si cruel tré- pas.

Que tout sente, icy bas, L'hor-reur d'un si cruel tré- pas.

Que tout sente, icy bas, L'hor-reur d'un si cruel tré- pas.

BASSE-CONTINUE.

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tys afflige tout le monde. Pene-

Que tout sente, icy bas, L'hor- reur d'un si cruel tré- pas. Pene-

Que tout sente, icy bas, L'hor- reur d'un si cruel tré- pas.

Que tout sente, icy bas, L'hor- reur d'un si cruel tré- pas.

Que tout sente, icy bas, L'hor- reur d'un si cruel tré- pas.

BASSE-CONTINUE.

Example 4b. Lully, *Atys* (1676), Act V scene vii[30]

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[30] Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Atys* (Paris: Ballard 1689).

Example 4c. Lully, *Proserpine* (1680), Act III scene vii[31]

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[31] Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Proserpine* (Paris: Ballard, 1680).

All three examined *topoi* represent impressive examples of triple generic bonds. They testify how the closed, circular, 'holy' mythical time has found its 'imitation-réinstanciation'[32] – to use Jean-Marie Schaeffer's terms – in an uneven configuration of European, post-Hellenistic culture, and its representation in open, baroque, and later, in romantic lyrical theatre, which is the subject of musical metaphorical transfer. Berlioz's nostalgic memory of the antique past and its tragic literary paradigm that criticises the actual present and the utopian idea accompanying it is fundamentally mediated by generic memory of their musical transposition in the French baroque opera.

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[32] Jean-Marie Schaeffer, *Pourquoi la fiction ?* (Paris: Seuil, 1999), 92–103.

Masks and Realities:
Greek Mythology in Russian Symbolism

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ABSTRACT: In histories of literature, the impact of ancient Greek mythology on Russian Symbolism is well known, if not studied in depth. The younger generation of Russian symbolist writers, like Andrei Belyi, Aleksandr Blok or Viacheslav Ivanov, did not only make creative use of mythology in many of their works, but also tried to enhance their lives continually with figures and symbols of Greek mythology: Belyi founded the literary circle of 'Argonauts' in 1903; the millionaire Pavel Riabushinskii launched the sumptuous symbolist journal *The Golden Fleece* in 1906; and Emil Medtner established the publishing house Musaget in 1909, where the journals *Apollon* (from 1910) and *Works and Days* (from 1912) were to appear. Here, mythology proved to be as much a stimulus for artistic production as it was a medium of elevating every-day life into the higher spheres of being; it reflected the idea of transforming reality via art, a concept some called 'theurgy' for its religious associations. There were many ties to music, too — Aleksandr Skryabin's *Prométhée* (Prometheus) is probably the best-known example of such symbolist borrowings from Greek mythology. This paper outlines the huge amount of Greek mythology used for artistic and every-day purposes in Russian symbolist circles (for example Belyi's self-stylisation, ironic or not), its opposition to or combination with other mythologies (Germanic and Slavic), its deeper ideological layers, and its aesthetic impact on Russian music in the Silver Age.

In late nineteenth century, knowledge of Greek literature and mythology was common to the Russian intelligentsia, as it was to the rest of Europe's well-educated society, for these topics were part of high school curricula. Since Winckelmann's and Goethe's days, Greek art, philosophy and culture had become an indispensable element of humanistic education. It remained a venerated background with timeless themes and figures that could appear in ever new artworks, for example in Sergey Taneyev's operatic trilogy *Oresteia* after Aeschylus (1887–1894, premiered in 1895), maybe the apogee of the renaissance of Greek antiquity in Russian music. However, this type of literal veneration seems not so typical for the Russian Silver Age, and, above all, it had little impact on the development of Russian culture.

Unlike Taneyev, most Russian *fin-de-siècle* artists would not stick literally to the sublime pathos of Greek tragedy. In everyday life, introducing elements of Greek mythology could become a sort of intellectual attitude or even an ironic game. Andrei Belyi, one of the most influential Russian symbolist poets and thinkers, remarked in his memories that speaking in mythological terms had been a typical habit among the likes of him at the turn of the century:

Но 'кентавр', 'фавн' для нас были в те годы не какими-нибудь 'стихийными духами', а способами восприятия, как Коробочка, Яичница, образы полотен Штука, Клингера,

> Беклина; музыка Грига, Ребикова; стихи Брюсова, мои, полны персонажей этого рода; поэтому мы, посетители выставок и концертов, в наших шутках эксплоатировали и Беклина, и Штука, и Грига; и говорили: 'Этот приват-доцент – фавн'.[1]

> But in those years, 'centaur', 'faun' were for us not some 'mysterious spirits', but modes of perception, as were [Gogol's characters] Korobochka, Yaichnitsa, the figures on the canvasses of Stuck, Klinger, Böcklin, the music of Grieg, Rebikov; the verses of Bryusov, my own, are full of personages of this kind; hence, as visitors of expositions and concerts, we made a joke of plundering Böcklin and Stuck and Grieg; and we said: 'this private lecturer is a faun'.

Another way of reception, certainly not confined to Russia alone, would be the superficial use of Greek mythology as a kind of decoration, showing off one's classical erudition – but without the ironies of Belyi. A good example for such *Bildungsbürger* application of Greek mythology can be seen in Mikhail Vrubel''s triptych *The Judgement of Paris*,[2] painted in 1893 to decorate the staircase of a rich merchant's house in Moscow: he gave the artist free reign to choose a subject connected to the Renaissance, but in the end refused to accept the paintings (obviously not because of the subject, but of style).[3] Three years later, Vrubel', one of the foremost exponents of symbolist art in Russia, got a similar commission to paint *Faust* scenes for the gothic cabinet of the Moscow tycoon and art collector Aleksei Morozov.[4] Obviously, such upper-class *intérieurs* were intended to give a cultural blessing to the commercial life of their owners by displaying sublime subjects of world literature, often, but not necessarily, of ancient origin. Vrubel', like many other artists of the Silver Age, owed much to such types of Maecenas: his entry to the Russian art world was supported by Savva Mamontov, who invited the artist to work on his estate in the artists' colony Abramtsevo near Moscow (resulting in sculptural pottery) and to contribute to his Private Opera as a stage designer. It is important to realise that Vrubel''s own search for mythical depths had nothing to do neither with Greek nor German culture, but was concentrated obsessively on Mikhail Lermontov and his poem *The Demon* (1829–1839), a story that had already attracted Anton Rubinstein to write an opera, which was completed in 1871 and premiered in 1875, and later Mily Balakirev to compose his symphonic poem *Tamara* (1867–1882). Vrubel' considered his Demon to be the personification of the human spirit, suffering and sorrowing, yet masterful and majestic; his seated, flying and in the end crushed Demon,[5] whose physical appearance seems as prismatically fragmented as the primeval landscape that surrounds him, embodies titanic power and tragic collapse. Lermontov's hero, a fallen angel that tries to gain the love of the Caucasian princess Tamara, whose bridegroom he had murdered, became in Vrubel''s paintings the tragic embodiment of Russian *fin-de-siècle*

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[1] Andrei Belyi, *Vospominaniia, Kniga 2: Nachalo veka* (Memoirs, Second Book: The Beginning of the Century), ed. A. Lavrov (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1990), 18–19.
[2] Moscow, Tretyakov State Gallery.
[3] See Petr Kirillovich Suzdalev, *Vrubel'* (Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1991), 258–259.
[4] *Flight of Faust and Mephisto*. Oil on canvas, 1896. Moscow, Tretyakov State Gallery.
[5] A broad discussion of Vrubel''s interpretation of Lermontov, together with reproductions of his sketches and paintings can be found on http://vrubel-lermontov.ru.

culture as a whole.[6] But it was a tragedy completely devoid of Greek traditions – Russian art was already creating its own myths.

Though the importance of Greek mythology for Russian Silver Age culture cannot be denied, its deeper impact is probably neither to be seen in historicist veneration, nor in philistine narcissism and bravado, nor in intellectual parody. Since Nietzsche, the image of Greek culture had changed substantially. Now, it was above all the Dionysian element that stood at the centre: vital forces unleashed by Greek tragedy at the dawn of civilisation, revived in the nineteenth century through Beethovenian symphonies or Wagnerian dramas; forces that nourished ideas of tragic grandeur, spiritual depth and the immanent cataclysm of culture. The main prophet of such Dionysian worldview was Viacheslav Ivanov, who returned to St. Petersburg in 1905, after years spent in Rome and Athens, to gather the *crème* of Russian thinkers and artists weekly in his famous penthouse (the 'Tower') until his wife died in 1907. Ivanov hoped for the rebirth of art by linking, as Nietzsche had done before, Greek myth to German music, that is, to Beethoven and Wagner: 'Вагнер — второй, после Бетховена, зачинатель нового дионисийского творчества, и первый предтеча вселенского мифотворчества'.[7] (Wagner is, after Beethoven, the second founder of a new Dionysian creation, and the first precursor of cosmic mythopoeia). In her path-breaking study, Rosamund Bartlett has illuminated the multifold ways and the depth of Wagner's impact on the Russian symbolist poets and their visions of a new of Russian culture[8] – a culture that had to speak in symbols, which would become myth and ultimately ritual. It was not by chance that virtually all Russian symbolist poets took such deep interest in music; for them, music was not only one of Baudelaire's many *corréspondances*; it was also the Nietzschean key to the very deepest layers of the human soul and its cosmic dimensions. Apart from translating ancient texts and writing his own dithyrambs, Ivanov would see ancient Greek myth, much as Nietzsche did, as tragedy, and art as a means of religious expression:

> Представление о существах сверхчеловеческих, претерпевающих муки и смерть, — часто встречаемое и в мифологии древних. Более того: оно — душа трагическаго мифа; а миф греческий, издавна тяготевший к трагическому, стал таковым почти всецело, почти во всем своем составе, под влиянием Дионисовой религии и Дионисова искусства — трагедии. Ужас смерти и искаженная личина страдания — трагическая маска — были приняты греками в идеальный мир их красоты, были возведены ими в перл создания, прощены, очищены творчеством; они обусловили собой их высшее в религиозном и художественном творчестве.[9]

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[6] For a comparison of the Symbolism of Vrubel' and that of the poet Blok see Richard H. Byrns, 'The Artistic Worlds of Vrubel' and Blok', *The Slavic and East European Journal*, 23/1 (spring 1979), 38–50.

[7] Viacheslav Ivanov, 'Vagner i dionisovo deistvo' (Wagner and the Dionysian Drama), *Sobranie sochinenii* (Collected Works), eds. D. V. Ivanov and O. Deschartes, ii (Brussels: Foyer Oriental Chrétien, 1974), 83; originally published in *Vesy*, 2 (1905), 13–16.

[8] Rosamund Bartlett, *Wagner and Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), especially part 2 ('Wagner and Russian Modernism'), 57–217, focusing on Ivanov, Blok, and Belyi.

[9] Viacheslav Ivanov, 'Ellinskaia religiia stradaiushchego Boga' (Hellenic Religion of a Suffering God), *Novyi put'*, 1 (1904), 110–111.

The idea of superhuman beings suffering pain and death is often to be found in the mythology of the old. Even more: it is the essence of tragic myth; and Greek myth, since ever inclined to the tragic, has become almost completely as such, in almost all its parts, under the influence of Dionysian religion and Dionysian art, that is, tragedy. Fear of death and the distorted mask of suffering – the tragic mask – were absorbed by the Greeks in their ideal world of beauty, were elevated by them into the pearl of creation, redeemed, purified by work; they brought with them their highest achievements in religious and artistic work.

Despite their love of Wagner and interest in musical matters, for Russian symbolist writers and thinkers music was only a means for higher, transcendental ends – neither a model for poetry, nor beautifully structured sound. As Bartlett states, 'Music for Bely, Blok and Ivanov had essentially very little to do with the ideal of euphonious verse, as it did for the first generation Symbolists like Balmont, for example (who were inspired by Verlaine's dictum "de la musique avant toute chose"), but everything to do with metaphysics'.[10] The renewal of Russian art, therefore, could make use of Wagner as a catalyst, but it had to be based on religious concepts that were ultimately rooted in ancient mythology. Ivanov's dithyramb *Ognenostsy* (The Fire-Bearers) from 1906 imitates in style (choirs) and language (prosody) ancient Greek tragedies, as the following fragments may show:

ХОР ОГНЕНОСЦЕВ	CHORUS OF FIRE-BEARERS
И вам у брачного	And you are to wait
Дано чертога	By the bridal chamber
Ждать во полуночи	At midnight
Пришельца-Бога, —	The God Who will come;
О духа бурного	O, the flames [or: tongues]
Во тьме языки,	Of the stormy spirit in the darkness,
Глаголы Хаоса,	The words of Chaos,
Немые клики!…	The silent calls!...
[…]	[…]
ПИФИЯ	PYTHIA
Из Хáоса родимого	From primeval Chaos,
Гляди — Звезда, Звезда!…	Behold: a Star, a Star!…
Из Нет непримиримого —	From unconciliatory No –
Слепительное Да!…	A blinding Yes!
При беззвучном пылании факелов	*The noiseless burning of torches*
молитвенное безмолвие Хора.	*accompanies the prayerful silence of*
	the Chorus

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[10] Bartlett, *Wagner and Russia*, 121.

ОТГОЛОСКИ ОКЕАНИД	ECHOES OF THE OCEANIDES
Слышишь черные зовы,	Do you hear the black calls,
Непокорные стоны,	The unrelenting moaning,
Прометей?…[11]	Prometheus?…[12]

This prophetic call for liberating Prometheus was typical for the Silver Age. Ivanov himself reconsidered the subject several times, but it is even more fascinating to see how close Skryabin's literary *Poème de l'extase* (Poem of Ecstasy), which he had printed in Geneva in 1906 (!) is to Ivanov's poem – in terms of language and style, but in terms of ideas as well.

A direct offspring of Ivanov's divulgation of ancient Greek culture and mythology can be seen in the work of one visitor of his Petersburg 'Tower' gatherings: Leon Bakst, who was to become one of the core members of Sergey Diaghilev's circle.[13] Bakst made a trip to Greece in 1907, visiting Mycenae and Crete. When he came back to Russia, he painted an apocalyptic vision of the downfall of antiquity: *Terror antiquus* (1908). A flash of lightning strikes down from heaven onto a collapsing landscape with ancient architectural remnants, engulfed by the agitated ocean. But in the foreground, there is a smiling *kore* that holds a blue dove in her left hand – a symbol of new things to come out of the ruins of antiquity. Obviously, Bakst had meticulously studied the archaic statue from the Acropolis as well as Minoan architecture that only some years before had been excavated on Crete. Thus, the process of transforming the old images of Greek antiquity was not only fostered by rethinking Nietzsche, but also by new archaeological data that seemed to confirm the ancient myths, for instance Minotaur living in the unfathomable labyrinth of the palace of Knossos.[14]

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[11] Viacheslav Ivanov, *Sobranie sochinenii* (Collected Works), eds. D. V. Ivanov and O. Deschartes, ii (Brussels: Foyer Oriental Chrétien, 1974), 238–243; originally published in Viacheslav Ivanov, *Cor ardens* (The Burning Heart), i (Moscow: Skorpion, 1911), 21–27.

[12] English translation partly following Robert Bird, 'Lyric Ritual and Narrative Myth in Russian Modernism: The Case of Viacheslav Ivanov', *Genre*, 36/1-2 (spring/summer 2003), 95 and 97 <http://www.v-ivanov.it/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/bird_lyric_ritual_and_narrative_myth_ivanov_2003_text.pdf>, accessed 21 February 2012.

[13] For Ivanov's influence on Bakst see Iulia Borisovna Demidenko, 'Khudozhniki na Bashne' (Artists in the Tower), in Andrei B. Shishkin, Iulia E. Galanina, and Svetlana Dmitrievna Titarenko (eds.), *Bashnia Viacheslava Ivanova i kul'tura serebrianogo veka* (The Tower of Viacheslav Ivanov and the Culture of the Silver Age) (St Petersburg: Filologicheskii fakultet SPbGU, 2006), 212–219.

[14] Ivanov interpreted Bakst's painting as symbolising the supremacy of fate over the ancient Gods: Viacheslav Ivanov, 'Drevnii uzhas. Po povodu kartiny L. Baksta "Terror antiquus"' (Ancient Terror. On L. Bakst's Painting 'Terror antiquus'), in *Sobranie sochinenii* (Collected Works), eds. D. V. Ivanov and O. Deschartes, iii (Brussels: Foyer Oriental Chrétien, 1979), 91–110.

Léon Bakst, *Terror antiquus*. Oil on canvas, 1908. Russian State Museum, St. Petersburg. (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Terror_Antiquus_by_L.Bakst_(1908).jpg>)

Bakst himself published an article called 'Puti Klassitsizma v iskusstve' (The Paths of Classicism in Art) in the journal *Apollon* in 1909. Here he explained why it is rather the Cretan and archaic Greek art than the famous classical models that may serve as an inspiration for Russian culture:

> Our taste, our fashions, slowly but unswervingly, more powerfully with each passing year – I would add, inexorably – return us to the path of antique art! Of course, they do not return us to the art of Phidias, and certainly not to the forms of Praxiteles. Our eyes are tired, as I have already stated, of art that is refined and too exquisite; they are tired of the transience and the sad superficiality of all the famous chefs d'œuvre in the history of style. […] We also know of the clamorous success enjoyed now in Europe by the Cretan culture newly uncovered by Evans and Halbherr. Yesterday it was virtually unknown, but today it constitutes a new order of antique art, one that is so close and familiar to us! This art evolved independently of the Egyptians and the Chaldeans, full of unexpected audacity, of unreasoned, impudent solutions and of light, shining victories. It trembles with the life of its own style. Cretan art is bold and dazzling, like the mad, courageous gallop of nude youths, who clutch the wild and acrid manes of their overheated steeds. […] In this art, which is so close to us, the arresting perfection of Praxiteles is not etched; the almost absolute beauty of the Parthenon is not to be found. Cretan culture never attained the extraordinary heights beyond which lie abstraction or effeminacy. For this reason, it is more closely related to our new art, with its half-perfection: it smiles and breathes with human efforts. […] There is no reason to suppose that only Hellenic subjects will necessarily appear, merely because the ideals of future painting are in accord with those of antique schools. The painting of the

future wishes the artist to be free from snobbery, and to abandon that tiresome fad –
épatement du bourgeois! Let the artist be rude, simple, rough, and primitive.[15]

Bakst himself would give free rein to his antique fantasies in his stage and costume designs
for the Ballets Russes productions of *Narcisse* and *Daphnis et Chloé* in 1911 and 1912.
Obviously, his primary concern was wild coloured backgrounds and, above all, the
increasingly obsessive exposure of the sexualised nude human body. The reform of dancing
and performance styles had started around 1900 with Isadora Duncan, who in turn inspired
Russian choreographers like Mikhail Fokin, and it was pre-eminently connected to visions of
Greek antiquity. Bakst would 'uncover' such freely moving natural beauties with the help of
his daring costumes.[16] His visions contributed significantly to the development of Russian
dance art.[17]

But Bakst's wish that the new Russian art be 'rude, simple, rough, and primitive'[18] was
much better fulfilled by his colleague Nicholas Roerich, the multi-talented mystic thinker,
poet, painter and scientist. Roerich's interest, however, was not at all in Greek mythology.
He took Russia's legendary and medieval past as an archaeological starting point and then
searched for its pagan roots in Central Asia, ultimately finding his own Sils Maria refuge in
the mountain regions of the Himalaya. Roerich's stage designs for *Le Sacre du printemps*
(The Rite of Spring) show this search for an uncivilised and even barbaric past as opposed to
the refined culture of Greek classicism as well as to the refinements of turn-of-the-century
artistry (and Stravinsky's music does much the same).[19] When more than a decade later the
Ballets Russes staged Stravinsky's *Apollon musagète* (Apollo), both music and art design
presented themselves in a new neoclassical outfit. By then, Greek mythology had entered a
somehow disillusioned, post-mythological period in which neither Greek nor Slavic myths
were thought to represent more than artistic symbols.

We might conclude that Greek mythology in late nineteenth-century Russia had started
as a petrified stock of humanist erudition; it then played a catalytic role for creating own
myths that were supposed to enter and shape real life; and finally it became once more a
kind of intellectual toy, something that could be applied in the arts without pretension of
any relevance beyond traditional symbolic meaning.

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[15] Cited after Robert Johnson, 'Bakst on Classicism: "The Paths of Classicism in Art"', *Dance Chronicle*, 13/2
(1990), 176, 179, 191.

[16] 'Rather than regarding the costume as a kind of disguise, in which the body was concealed and to which
accessories were added as ornamentation, he used the total costume as a means of adding to the structure of
the movement'. Michelle Potter, 'Designed for Dance: The Costumes of Léon Bakst and the Art of Isadora
Duncan', *Dance Chronicle*, 13/2 (1990), 155.

[17] See Charles S. Mayr, 'The Influence of Leon Bakst on Choreography', *Dance Chronicle*, 1/2 (1977–1978),
127–142.

[18] Johnson, 'Bakst on Classicism', 191.

[19] For an exhaustive description of the *Le Sacre*'s conceptual background, to considerable extent stemming
from Roerich, see the first parts of the chapter dedicated to *Le Sacre du printemps* in Richard Taruskin,
Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions. A Biography of the Works through Mavra, i (Berkeley and Los Angeles:
California University Press, 1996), 849–891.

So, the most interesting period in our perspective remains the Silver Age, the pre-revolutionary years, when Russian Symbolism was a fertile breeding ground of new and old myths. *Mifotvorchestvo*, the creation of myths, stood at the centre of symbolist thinking. It was connected to *zhiznetvorchestvo*, the theatrical elevation of life that finally becomes itself art. These ideas were displayed in symbolist poetry, in theoretical books and articles, and in public lectures. A favourite medium for realising step by step the symbolist dream of a mythically enhanced life in the higher spheres of culture were journals – the mouthpieces of the symbolist movement. It was here that the melting of the arts took place on a conceptual level. It was here that music was discussed in the midst of philosophy, poetry, visual arts, and criticism. The first important art journal, of course, had been Diaghilev's *Mir iskusstva* (The World of Art), that combined neo-nationalist trends with Art Nouveau influences, influences that extend to the decadent Beardsleyan eroticism of Nikolai Feofilaktov's cover for No. 11 (1906) of *Vesy*, a journal that succeeded to *Mir iskusstva*: here, Greek mythology was almost reduced to brothel decoration.[20]

More important for defining new, self-standing cultural trends and integrating different art forms in Russia was the journal *Zolotoe runo* (also known by its French title, *La Toison d'or*). Its mythological title, The Golden Fleece, seems fully appropriate considering that one of its main contributors, Belyi, had gathered a circle of friends under the name of 'Argonauts' in 1903. In a letter to Emil Medtner, elder brother of the composer Nicolas Medtner, he wrote: '[...] построю себе конечный корабль – Арго. Я хочу быть аргонавтом. И не я. Многие хотят. Они не знают, а это так'. (I'm building the last ship for me – Argo. I want to be an Argonaut. Not I alone. Many do so. They don't know, but that's how it is).[21] Belyi's search for a renewal of Russian culture started in the sign of Greek mythology, and three years later his Golden Fleece was to be found in a journal that bore its very name. Unlike previous art journals, *Zolotoe runo* had a special musical section. It was led by Emil Medtner, who only recently has been acknowledged as one of the leading figures of the Russian symbolist movement[22] – he had promoted the literary debuts of the poet Aleksandr Blok and of Belyi, for whom he remained a leading figure for almost a decade. He founded the publishing house Musagetes in Moscow, home of the journals *Apollon*, *Logos* and *Trudy i dni* (Works and Days, named after Herodotus), thus borrowing once again all names and titles from ancient Greek mythology, philosophy or literature.

In the first volume of *Trudy i dni*, the editorial staff mentioned two goals: first, to explore and strengthen the principles of real symbolism in art, and second, to build a unifying link

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[20] See Mikhail Kiselev, 'Graphic Design and Russian Art Journals of the Early Twentieth Century', *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* ('Russian/Soviet Theme Issue, II'), 11 (winter 1989), 58.

[21] Letter from Andrei Belyi to Emil Medtner dated 19 April 1903; cit. after Georges Nivat, 'Histoire d'une "tératogénèse" biélyenne: Les Rapports entre Emilij Medtner et Andrej Belyj', *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, 18/1–2 (January-June 1977), 100.

[22] Magnus Ljunggren, *The Russian Mephisto. A Study of the Life and Work of Emilii Medtner* (Acta universitatis Stockholmiensis. Stockholm Studies in Russian Literature, 27; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1994). This monograph has also been translated into Russian: *Ruskii Mefistofel': zhizn' i tvorchestvo Emiliia Metnera*, trans. Aleksandr Vadimovich Skidan (St Petersburg: Akademicheskii proekt, 2001).

between the different efforts of artistic and philosophic groups that are working under the auspices of the publishing house Musagetes.[23] To this first number, Belyi and Ivanov contributed theoretical essays about Symbolism as well as reflections about the programmatic editorial section called Orpheus, whereas Emil Medtner wrote about the publishing house and about Liszt. Though Medtner obviously was well trained in classical mythology, his obsession was with German culture since Kant, Goethe and Beethoven, and he was totally absorbed by the mythological world of Wagner's *Ring*. As a music critic, he chose himself the *Ring*-derived pseudonym 'Wölfing' (aka Siegmund). Belyi has left us vivid descriptions of how Medtner actually lived in his own mythological Germanic world: he regarded Liszt as Mime, Liszt's French propagator Pierre d'Alheim as Hagen, and he saw his mission in killing the dragon (made up of French and Jewish culture) in order to free Brünnhilde (the symbol for Russian's cultural future, liberated by German or Arian culture). 'Ликом древнего мифа поглядывал он на нас' [24] (He looked onto us with the face of old myth), said Belyi – no Greek myths, though. Rather, these were hypertrophic dreams of the hegemony of German culture, dreams deeply saturated with the anti-Semitic worldview of Wagner and Chamberlain, and full of belief in Nietzsche's *Übermenschentum*, that Emil Medtner admired in Caesar, Napoleon, and ultimately Hitler.

Notwithstanding such disturbing personal traits, Emil Medtner can be seen as a most typical and even extreme representative of *mifotvorchestvo* and *zhiznetvorchestvo* in Russian Symbolism.[25] And it is in this respect that the Russian reception of Greek mythology produced its most fruitful and interesting results: by extending mythology into everyday life, by reading everything on a symbolic level and thus generating an increasingly complex network of past and present meanings. The Viennese Slavist Aage Hansen-Löve has dedicated thousands of pages to the interpretation of Russian symbolist poetry and writings, especially to the deciphering of the innumerable symbols that could range from the most banal and posh to the hermetical and esoteric.[26] In any case, the main principle of symbolist thinking was that everything could be read not only in its traditional semiotic function, on a horizontal level, as a *phainomenon*, but also as an emanation of the cosmic *Urbilder* or Plato's ideas, in vertical perspective. And, of course, all this is an expression of seeing art no longer as an autonomous surrogate for religion, that is aestheticism, but as a religious function, or as a new religion itself.

That the philosophical-theoretical approach to symbolist art which was central to the contributors to Musagetes could produce direct resonances in musicians can be seen in the

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[23] 'Ot redaktsii' (From the Editors), *Trudy i dni*, 1 (1912), 1–2.

[24] Belyi, *Vospominaniia, Kniga 2*, 90.

[25] G. V. Nefed'ev, 'Zhiznetvorchestvo Emiliia Metnera: k mifologii russkogo simvolizma' (The Life-creation of Emil Medtner: For a Mythology of Russian Symbolism), in T. A. Korol'kova, T. Iu. Maslovskaia, and S. R. Fediakin (eds.), *Nikolai Metner. Voprosy biografii i tvorchestva* (Nikolai Medtner: Questions of Biography and Work) (Biblioteka-fond 'Russkoe zarubezh'e', 10; Moscow: Russkii put', 2009), 200–208.

[26] Aage A. Hansen-Löve, *Der russische Symbolismus. System und Entfaltung der poetischen Motive*, i: *Diabolischer Symbolismus*, ii: *Mythopoetischer Symbolismus. 1. Kosmische Symbolik* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989 and 1998).

work of Nicolas Medtner. Encouraged by Rachmaninoff, Medtner put to paper his own aesthetical credo in a book named *Muza i moda* (Muse and Fashion, 1935) in his Paris exile in the early 1930s. It is an isolated monument to his quixotic battle against all kinds of modernism. When he describes the fundamental senses or laws of music, he makes use of a dialectic confrontation of abstract notions that seemingly goes directly back to Platonic ideas.[27] It is a distant echo of that pure logic and idealistic order of art and beauty that stems from the discussions with his brother and the symbolist circles in the years of the Silver Age.

But are there parallels in Russian music itself? This is more or less the question of whether there is such thing as Symbolism in music or not. Most of the old or new myths were hovering only on the surface of musical works, for example in Prokofiev's *Scythian Suite*, that was an offspring of the *à-la-mode* barbarism that *Le Sacre du printemps* had evoked. If we keep to ancient Greek mythology, the works that might reflect mythological/symbolist thinking on a structural level are very rare. Vladimir Rebikov's many essays on creating synthetic combinations of music, speech and dance remained almost unnoticed due to their all in all poor musical quality. Others could be named. I will choose only two examples, Medtner and Skryabin.

If we agree that the symbolist re-reading of Goethe was part of symbolist culture (the friendship between Belyi and Emil Medtner broke because of different views on Goethe, that is, because of accepting or refusing Rudolf Steiner's appropriation of the German poet), the dozens of Goethe settings of Nicolas Medtner could be judged as symbolist as well, despite their seemingly conservative stance. In *Einsamkeit*, Op. 18 No. 3, for example, Goethe's invocation of the Nymphs as bearers of divine inspiration is rendered in a classicist *siciliano* rhythm like an Elysian pastoral idyll. But the real sense of this song is about the spiritual dimension of artistic inspiration, the holy moment of creation, ultimately, the holiness of art (music) in general. We can imagine that the composer had pinned down this music after hours of discussion about the meaning of Goethe's poem. Maybe the innermost semantic layer of this modest song is the metaphoric fertilisation of Russian (Dostoevskian) chaos by German (Kantian) clarity, that had become art in Goethe's hands.[28] Maybe there are still other interpretations. But one thing is sure: that behind the classicist surface of Medtner's *Einsamkeit* lies a wealth of symbolic meaning, the more so since it tries to be as simple as possible. The key notions of mythopoetic symbolist poetry are simple as well:

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[27] See Christoph Flamm, *Der russische Komponist Nikolaj Metner. Studien und Materialien* (Berlin: Ernst Kuhn, 1995), especially 108–142.

[28] Medtner's choice of German poets should not only be seen as a tribute to the family's German roots or to Emil's devotion to German culture in general, but also as an essential part of symbolist aesthetics as well. Indeed, the melting of philosophy, ancient Greek mythology, German poetry and music, and Christianity in Ivanov's writings can very plausibly be compared to Medtner's creative worldview. The epic narrative that in itself, according to Ivanov, forms a sort of mythopoetic discourse (see Bird, 'Lyric Ritual and Narrative Myth in Russian Modernism', 91–93) is lying at the heart of Medtner's 'Night Wind' Sonata, Op. 25 No. 2, that bears Tiutchev's poem 'O chem ty voesh', vetr nochnoi?' (What are you Howling about, Night Wind?) as an epigraph – Ivanov's chaos/light dichotomy set to music against a background of Russian and German philosophical and musical traditions.

dawn, night, time, work, thing, word, and so on. It is this simplicity that guarantees the multitude of meaning so dear to Symbolism.

If someone's music cannot be named simplistic, it is Skryabin's. Unlike Medtner, with his narrow, dogmatic and apodictic worldview, Skryabin's intellectual profile was extremely eclectic – he was interested in mythology of all kinds, including the then blossoming theosophy, and ultimately (remind Roerich) focusing on Indian and Vedic spirituality. The cover of his spectacular last symphonic composition, *Prométhée. Le Poème du feu* (Prometheus. The Poem of Fire), Op. 60, painted by a friend of Skryabin's years in Belgium, Jean Deville, combines the antique myth of the bringer of divine light to mankind with the lyre, the symbol of music. And exactly this had been the symbolists' central idea: that music was the form of art that came nearest to the Platonic *Urbilder*. But for Skryabin, music was not a symbol, a Platonic emanation of cosmic *realioria*, as it was for Medtner. For Scriabin, music was the cosmic act itself – a ritual, aiming at transcendence *hic et nunc*, and this is why he felt himself as being god-like (a point which has been probably too often commented on): because his art indeed filled the lacuna of religious functions completely – at least from his point of view.

In order to make the audience feel transcendent, Skryabin searched for overwhelming effects, breathtaking climaxes. But the orchestral forces of the *Poème de l'extase*, which had preceded *Prométhée*, were difficult to surpass. The orchestra could not get much larger, the dynamics much louder, the musical gestures more triumphant and festive. Skryabin decided to include synaesthetic projections of coloured light according to the tonal centres of his music, which had transcended major and minor (this point would merit another discourse, because the renovation of artistic means is quintessential to symbolist aesthetics). *Prométhée* was, however, not simply Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk* Russianised: rather it represented the fusion of arts which had been reflected in all those columns of Russia's symbolist art journals. The technical prerequisites, though, were of antediluvian primitivism; the premiere had to take place without the intended rainbow colours of the *tastiera per luce*, which the composer had meticulously prescribed at the top of the score. The utopian project envisaged by Skryabin in his last years was the so-called *Mystère*, a week-long multimedia ritual, which would have included all senses, music and dance, light and perfume, and, in order to underline the cosmic spirituality of the action, it would have taken place in a half-sphere concert hall, or rather temple, built at the shore of a lake in India. Maybe Roerich would have descended from his Himalaya summit to take part, we shall never know. But Skryabin's utopian project of a synaesthetic mystery was – more so than *Le Sacre du printemps* – the ultimate Russian dream of myths, transforming reality under the aegis of the artist superman.

Despite their different approaches, many Russian composers, artists, playwrights, stage directors and so on of the Silver Age were in search for a new art form: the myth-born ritual, extending or substituting former religious experiences. This tendency has been compared to the mystery play, the historical *telos* being the Bolshevik Revolution:

In conclusion, the mystery play is a key narrative form of Russian modernism, insofar as it is born of the need to present religious myth in secular images, to translate liturgy into spectacle and art into ritual, and to place the artist himself at the center of history as its motive force and martyr. As the symbol led to allegory, the simulation of ritual became the simulation of myth—artistic, religious, and finally historical. In this respect the revolution as a cultural event was both the ultimate intervention in Russian rituals, and the mark of a new period, when history avenged itself and became increasingly resistant to the intervention of imaginative literature.[29]

In any case, already in the years before the Revolution the original essence of Greek mythology had disappeared – it had been transformed and superseded by new myths. But the old characters could still be used as a sort of avatar: an ancient mask that gives a hint of the symbolist *realioria* behind it. After all, the Russian artists of the Silver Age, not least the composers, believed in myths as being more real than real life – and in art as being the highest expression of myths.

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[29] Bird, 'Lyric Ritual and Narrative Myth in Russian Modernism', 106.

V. THEORY AND PHILOSOPHY

'Archaic Modes' of Receiving Antiquity by the
Great Theōrētikon *of Music* by Chrysanthos from Madytos

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ABSTRACT: This essay originates in a study of the ways of utilising an influential – in the field of church music in the Hellenic language – theory of music that has pre-eminently received and re-conceived of Hellenic antiquity in its content: the *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music* by Chrysanthos from Madytos (written in 1812–1816 in Constantinople).[1] Thus, before obviously – according to the title – focusing on some of the basic quotations and references to ancient sources of the *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music*, the present article will include a narrative on its own epistemology. Quite appropriately, the most central source of the epistemology utilised is *The Archaeology of Knowledge* by Michel Foucault, as introduced to musicology by Gary Tomlinson in his *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others*.

Back to the field, the impact of antiquity (especially its late centuries) on the *Great* Theōrētikon has been huge: its main definition of music – its fundamental statement – and the structure of its largest part are those of the first book of Aristides Quintilianus' *Peri Mousikēs* (On Music); its second, out of three, historical space of musicians comprises ancient Hellenes; two out of five definers of music, other than Chrysanthos, in the chapter of music definition are ancient philosophers. It will be proposed, however, that the revisiting of the reception of these ancient sources by later music-theoretical texts can be realised in a documented way by means of studying: i) the ways in which ancient sources are incorporated in the newer theories, and ii) what ancient sources have been offering to the music-related conceptions of the hosting theories ever since this reception, that is, what the ancient texts say.

A) Prologue

A paper on the modes of receiving antiquity by a certain music theory might, at a first – classical – reading, deal with the ways in which the chosen music theory receives antiquity in its content; or, at a case-study-specific orientation, with the identity of certain of its antiquity-receiving musical modes, such as those modes presented by the *Theōrētikon mega tēs Mousikēs* (Great *Theōrētikon* of Music) of Chrysanthos from Madytos.[2] However, as

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[1] Throughout this essay, the title of Chrysanthos's treatise appears as *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music*, as opposed to *Great Theoretical Treatise of Music*, which is the title provided in Dimitri Conomos, 'Chrysanthos of Madytos', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, v (2nd edn., London: MacMillan, 2001), 817, since this rendering is closer grammatically to the Greek original: *Theōretikon mega tēs Mousikēs*. For the same reason, Chrysanthos's full name appears as 'Chrysanthos from Madytos' (Chrysanthos ek Madytou) instead of 'Chrysanthos of Madytos', which is its rendering by Conomos.

[2] See Chrysanthos from Madytos, 'Peri tōn oktō Ēchōn kata Manouēl Bryennyon [*sic*]' (On the Eight *Echoi* according to Manuel Bryennius), *Theōrētikon mega tēs Mousikēs* (Great *Theōrētikon* of Music), ed. Panagiōtēs Pelopidēs (Trieste: Michele Weis Typography, 1832), 127–130 (italics mine), where Chrysanthos gives a neo-Roman view of the ancient, mainly Aristoxenean, tones. On the older *modes* of the *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music*

there are recent theories of research that underline today the importance of epistemologically self-conscious research work (and the importance of exhibiting this self-consciousness *in* the resulted research text) – at least one, and this essay wishes to follow it[3] – there comes another possible subject of the mentioned reception as well: the *studying* of music theory, in which one receives antiquity by means of the research work. More specifically, a focus on the possible subjects of reception of antiquity in literature might reveal the following two questions: on one hand, what is the position and form of ancient sources in literature – music-theoretical or other – and its commentary on them; and, on the other hand, how do its readers of today engulf antiquity when studying its pages? In an effort to answer these questions, this text will accordingly aim at two things: a) The positioning of ancient sources in the *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music* (actualised here in the form of a general reference to the whole source, and a specialised reference to its first chapter); and b) the reception of antiquity during their study in the source, a process that touches upon more general conditions of research. Placing the most general of the two in front, it seems quite appropriate to begin with an approach to *archaeology*, for archaeology is the contemporary authoritative discipline of research that engages itself with engulfing antiquity.

B) Main Part: Development of the Proposal

I)   An epistemological introduction: The basics of the archaeology of Michel Foucault (as introduced to musicology by Gary Tomlinson[4])

The thoughts just expressed *owe* their theoretical background to a specific archaeological theory: the *Archaeology of Knowledge*[5] – according to the title of the book in which it has been presented – by Michel Foucault, as this has been introduced to musicology by Gary Tomlinson in his *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others*.[6]

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see my unpublished homonymous text, presented at the courses of ecclesiastical music theory classes of Rev. Prof. Kyriakos-Nektarios Parēs (University of Macedonia, Department of Music Science and Art, spring semester 2011).

[3] 'If the human sciences claim to study human activities, then [they] must take account of those human activities which make possible their own disciplines'. Hubert L. Dreyfus, Paul Rabinow, and Michel Foucault, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics With an Afterword by and an Interview with Michel Foucault* (2nd edn., Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), 163, quoted in Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), xii.

[4] In Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic*, who presents and comments on Foucault's archaeology from Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith and Rupert Swyer (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972).

[5] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*.

[6] Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic*, esp. ix–43, and 247–252. That Foucault turned his interest to another theory after archaeology, namely the theory of genealogy, does not reduce the value of the former; as Tomlinson reports (ibid. xi), 'Various commentators have realized that Foucault did not renounce archaeology in his genealogy but rather incorporated it in a new, more malleable, less structuralist guise. Archaeology remained an essential historical endeavour of the genealogist […]'.

Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge* has all qualities of being a theory of research;[7] a brief summary follows.

> Archaeology tries to define not the thoughts, representations, images, themes, preoccupations that are concealed or revealed in discourses; but those discourses themselves […]. It does not treat discourse as *document*, as a sign of something else…; it is concerned with discourse in its own volume, as a *monument*.[8]

> It does not claim to efface itself in the ambiguous modesty of a reading that would bring back, in all its purity, the distant, precarious, almost effaced light of the origin. It is nothing more than a rewriting: that is, in the preserved form of exteriority, a regulated transformation of what has already been written. It is not a return to the innermost secret of the origin; it is the systematic description of a discourse-object.[9]

From the viewpoint of a genre of research interested in the study of the particular discursive case called *source*,[10] the epistemologically interesting matter might be an occupation with the source as an object of the present – the present of research – rather than the engagement with the modes in which its creator has acted in order to create it. In the Foucauldian invocation of the source to *document* a work of research, the source becomes an object of the present of research, a *monument*, positioned in the research reality. Thus, archaeology works with its sources with the consciousness that what is done is new and old simultaneously, rather than as if they were opportunities of yielding no longer existing past origins. The sense of past in archaeology, be it the past of the last two centuries or an ancient past, is anyway created by the employment of objects as *sources*, that is as *beginnings*. Although created in the past by somebody and for some reasons, what is investigable in relation to the source is the content that contemporary research can trace and study in it, not – except for the special instance in which the source means to present its past world – the content of an imaginary past world hidden 'behind-before' it, in which its creator lived. For, this 'behind-before' is under research construction – its identity included – while (referring to the mentioned exception) what is only traceable of the sources' past world is, again, what sources (usually in combination) present – under the crisis of research – their past world to be. It is them that are present, not the process of reception of sources by the studied object, anymore.[11]

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[7] A matter with which I tried to deal in my Ph.D. diss. 'Concept of Music by Chrysanthos from Madytos' (University of Copenhagen, 2009).

[8] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 138–139, quoted in Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic*, 38.

[9] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 139–140.

[10] On the validity of this particularization and the significance of the *source* in the archaeology of Foucault, see my (unpublished) paper 'An Attempt to Connect Research on Byzantine Music with Recent Theories of Musicology at the Study-case of the *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music*' presented in the 2nd Euro-Mediterranean Conference of the Cyprus Music Institute, Nicosia, 8 September 2011.

[11] This comes close to the matter of the possibility of discovering authorial intentions in research literature (hence the matter of research consciousness), a matter with which hermeneutics has dealt extensively. However, it seems that researchers opposing hermeneutics, like Michel Foucault and Gary Tomlinson, have

The substitution of the *document* by the *monument* in *the Archaeology of Knowledge* of Foucault represents in another mode the contemporary text-context orientation of research, while it also serves as a justification of the use of the term *archaeology* for naming the Foucauldian theory. For, this substitution emphasises the monumentalisation of sources, in the mode in which classical archaeology treats the fragments it unearths by excavation, which is their – positioned in its present – identification, description, and analysis. This archaeological monumentalisation of the source, however, means also that the source is given a primary position in the whole consideration of the material for study, leading the methodology of research to focus on it and begin its practice with its study; as Foucault has written, 'history has altered its position in relation to the document: it has taken as its primary task […] to work on it from within'.[12] Apart from the clear-cut methodological direction included in this statement, its theory is clear: the source is in the beginning, core, and essence of study, it is not just a useful instance of the – otherwise only presumed – past world. It is in this mode that the end of the abstract proposal of this paper may be comprehended, namely that the revisiting of the contexts of the reception of sources (ancient or not) in research can be justified by studying what sources have been offering to the conceptions (musical or other) of the research-host (be it a theory, a research-dissertation and so on): the antiquity-receiving object of study has been formed by its own sources, both in terms of creative process and final form, so research on this reception should start its study of the contexts of this process and this form from these sources.

As classical archaeology is 'a discipline devoted to silent monuments, inert traces, objects without context, and things left by the past',[13] it seems that the primary objects of devotion for the extended Foucauldian conception of archaeological research, sources, are considered in the same way. All the more so, and trying to reach to a sense of community in research, their baptism as *sources*, which, as said, can be interpreted – among other interpretations – as beginning fountains brought to the present as explained above, supports the use of the term *archaeology* for the whole archaeological theory of Foucault. But it is due to this *archaic* – in an epistemological sense – position of the source in this kind of study that the whole study has the possibility of becoming *archaeological* in an even more general, abstract but deep, sense: if the object of study is chosen to be one of the epistemological sources of the field(s) in which the working genre of research is positioned, then the directing of the study towards the sources of this source may, under a proper methodology, yield results regarding the sources of the whole field.

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managed to give a final answer on this problem. See Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic*, x and chapter 1, for a summary of both the hermeneutical and archaeological stances on the matter, on which unfortunately I cannot expand in this paper for length reasons.

[12] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 6–7.

[13] Ibid. The devotion of archaeology to 'objects without contexts' strengthens, in my view, the opinion that there is an initial level of archaeological method in which the object is seen individually, pre-supposed as out of contexts (more on this see in my unpublished paper 'An Attempt to Connect Research on Byzantine Music with Recent Theories of Musicology at the Study-case of the *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music*'.

With a more general interest – demanded by the contemporary position of Hellas in the world – in locating and identifying Greekness in today's international research map, and with a more particular interest in the history and present of ecclesiastical music in the Hellenic language, the current essay will try to combine this last syllogism and the theme of the conference in which it has been first presented ('Revisiting the Past, Recasting the Present: The Reception of Greek Antiquity in Music, 19th century to the Present'), in order to study the basics of the reception of antiquity by one of the commonly recognised sources of Hellenic ecclesiastical music: Archbishop Chrysanthos's *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music*, which – by an at least interesting coincidence – may be the first source of Hellenic ecclesiastical music referring extensively to its own ancient and more recent sources.[14]

One of the common achievements of classical archaeology (the discipline enlarged, not rejected, by Foucault) and its sister discipline *classical philology* (the former as the finder and the latter as the elaborator, in rough terms) is the reconstruction and re-edition of ancient Hellenic sources. The reconstructed ancient sources, revised again and again through generations of philologists by means of new relevant findings coming to light, is the closest that research has managed to come to the original ancient texts. Hence, as the concept of *reception* necessitates an objectively pre-existent entity to be received (say, antiquity), and until newer archaeological findings are unearthed, reconstructed sources can serve as constants of comparisons with subsequent authors' quotations of the same ancient sources, thus making the study of their reception by these authors possible to the extent that their more up-to-date (but certainly not definite, until some manuscript of the ancient author is found) reconstructions of today permits. This will be attempted in the case of the Chrysanthine *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music*, after the following thoughts on its general conception of antiquity.

II)   General thoughts on the conception of antiquity in the *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music*

The *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music* was written between 1812 and 1816 by Chrysanthos from Madytos, possibly in Constantinople,[15] and was published in 1832 in Trieste by his student Panagiōtēs Pelopidēs. Since its creation, it has included lots of ancient quotations, paraphrases, and references:[16] its main definition of music – its fundamental statement – is

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[14] On the position of the *Archaeology* of Foucault in the core of present-day research practice, its inside-out consideration of the matter of the source in the archaeo- and history- branches of research, which brings us closer to the matter of methodology, and the matter of methodology itself, see ibid.

[15] On these dates and place, see my forthcoming article in the proceedings of the 2011 Athens Conference of the American Society of Byzantine Music and Hymnology (Agamemnon Tentes, 'Methodological Thoughts on the Study of Chrysanthos from Madytos and the World Around Him', in N. Giannoukakis (ed.), *Acts of the 3rd International Conference of the American Society of Byzantine Music and Hymnology (ASBMH)*, Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg, forthcoming 2013).

[16] Main text numerical references to the *Great* Theōrētikon refer to the pages of the printed edition (Chrysanthos, *Theōrētikon mega tēs Mousikēs*).

that of Aristides Quintilianus;[17] already its title page presents quotations from Pausanias/Athenaeus[18] and Plato/Timaeus (Locrus);[19] its second, out of three, section of its historical part of musicians comprises ancient Hellenes (prologue, p. θ′); two out of five definers of music, other than Chrysanthos, in the chapter of music definition are ancient philosophers; two out of seven divisions of music in that chapter are by Porphyrius[20] and Aristides.[21] In general, the ancient references, citations, quotations, and paraphrases of the *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music*, such as those at which the summary of this text hints, can be divided into four categories: 1) general references to *ancients*; 2) specific references to the *ancient Hellenes*; 3) specific references to the *musicians of the Old Testament*; and 4) references to the *ancient ecclesiastical musicians*. This fourfold distinction presents antiquity as a world that includes at least three sets, as three different worlds of the same ancient era, the Hellenic, the Biblical, and the ecclesiastical. These three ancient worlds are included in the first part of what is often called today 'the historical part of the Theōrētikon', titled in the only extant autograph of Chrysanthos as (Aphēgēsis proeisodiōdēs peri archēs kai proodou tēs mousikēs [...]' (Pre-introductory Narration on the Beginning and Progress of Music)[22], the term *beginning* translating here the Greek *archē*, the linguistic root of the Hellenic *antiquity* (*archaiotēs*). This *archē* of the 'Narration' comprises its first three sections, which, faithfully to the title of the whole part, refer to ancient music, featuring:

    a) a general, ethnological – in a literal sense, but also in accordance with a fashion of that time in Europe (*c.*1800), as one could suggest following Gary Tomlinson's

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[17] Reginald Pepys Winnington-Ingram (ed.), *Aristidis Quintiliani De Musica libri tres* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1963), book I, chapter iv, ll. 18–19.

[18] Although Chrysanthos's reference is to 'PAUS. fo. 632.', I have located it as Athenaeus from Naucratis, 'Deipnosophistōn ID', in Charles Burton Gulick (ed.) *The Deipnosophists* (London: Heinemann, 1959), 410, fo. 632b-c (The page reference 'fo. 632' in Chrysanthos's *Theōrētikon mega tēs Mousikēs* is identical to the section '632' in the Gulick edition of Athenaeus).

[19] Although Chrysanthos's reference is to Plato's *Timaeus Locrus*, I have located it as 'Peri physios kosmō kai psychas' (On the nature of the world and the soul), in Timaios Locros, 'Fragmenta et titulus', in Holger Thesleff (ed.), *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period* (Abo: Abo Akademi, 1965), 224, ll. 1–4, retrieved from Darl J. Dumont and Randall M. Smith (eds.), *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* <http://www.tlg.uci.edu/>, accessed 21 October 2013, that is, a work also attributed to Timaeus Locrus the philosopher. I have traced another reference of the *Great* Theōrētikon to Plato's *Timaeus Locrus*, but to seven folios before the present, namely 'fo. 21' (Chrysanthos, *Theōrētikon mega tēs Mousikēs*, 124 n., para. 279), and I have identified it as Timaeus Locrus, 'Fragmenta et titulus', 220, l. 4. Hence, the first quotation may actually be an excerpt from the latter work of Timaeus Locrus, but the latter might have taken it from a text of Plato, to which Chrysanthos refers.

[20] Chrysanthos, *Theōrētikon mega tēs Mousikēs*, 4 n. β; italics mine. The Porphyrian division of music by the edition is substantially similar to that of the 1816 autograph of Chrysanthos. Cf. Porphyrius, 'Eis ta harmonika Ptolemaiou ypomnēma' (Note on Ptolemy's *Harmonics*), in Ingemar Düring (ed.), *Porphyrios. Kommentar zur Harmonielehre des Ptolemaios* (Göteborg: Elanders, 1932), 5, ll. 21–23, retrieved from Darl J. Dumont and Randall M. Smith (eds.), *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* <http://www.tlg.uci.edu/>, accessed 21 October 2013; particularly on *rhythmics* and *metrics* cf. Porphyrius, 'Eis ta harmonika Ptolemaiou ypomnēma', 60, l.1; on *rhythmics* and *harmonics*, cf. ibid. 79, ll. 20–23.

[21] Winnington-Ingram (ed.), *Aristidis Quintiliani de Musica libri tres*, 4, ll.18, 19–20, and ibid. 6, ll. 8–9.

[22] Chrysanthos the Archimandrite, 'Aphēgēsis proeisodiōdēs peri archēs kai proodou tēs mousikēs [...]' (Pre-introductory Narration on the Beginning and Progress of Music […]) (Constantinople [?]: Chrysanthos from Madyta, 1816), 1. In the edition of 1832, it is more simply called 'Aphēgēsis peri archēs kai proodou tēs mousikēs' (Narration on the Beginning and Progress of Music), because it is positioned at the back of the book.

'Musicology, Anthropology, History'[23] – introduction on the *archai* (beginnings) of music (paras 1–2 of the historical part);

b) a survey on the *archē* of music by means of the Old Testament (paras 3–8); and

c) a survey on the music of the ancient Hellenes and of those who wrote on ancient Hellenic music in the Hellenic language (paras 9–48).

This section of the 'Narration on the Beginning and Progress of Music' that includes these three parts refers therefore to an ancient era of music, two sets of which are the music of the Old Testament and that of the ancient Hellenes.[24] The fact that there *is* an ancient *ecclesiastical* world of musicians is also suggested by the historical 'Narration' of the *Great* Theōrētikon, as there is a report in the printed edition that John of Damascus is 'ὁ ἀρχαιότερος διδάσκαλος τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς' (the most ancient teacher of our Ecclesiastical Music), reserving a position in antiquity for the famous musician, although in relative terms.[25] The fact that the first two areas of antiquity, that is the Biblical and the Hellenic, are parallel and not comparable chronologically in the source, although the former is given before the latter in it, is suggested not only by a lack of such a chronological indication in both manuscript and printed editions of the *Great* Theōrētikon, but also by two statements following each one of these two areas that relate them with certain sources (the Bible with the first and the authors in Hellenic with the second), not with certain times.[26]

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[23] Gary Tomlinson, 'Musicology, Anthropology, History', manuscript provided to the participants of a Master class of Gary Tomlinson titled 'Historiography, Anthropology, and Hermeneutics as Models of Understanding in Performative Arts', Copenhagen: Musikvidenskabeligt Institut, 2003, 2, published also in *Il Saggiatore musicale*, 8 (2001), 21–37.

[24] The printed edition of the *Great* Theōrētikon mentions at the end of this 'ancient' section of the 'Narration' that the up-to-that-point referred paragraphs have been 'about Hellenic Music before the Christian era' (para. 50), thus presenting a view that the antiquity of the *Great* Theōrētikon refers to music before the Christian era.

[25] Para. 50; the characterisation of John of Damascus in the source text reads 'ὁ ἀρχαιότερος διδάσκαλος καὶ πρωτουργὸς τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς' (more ancient and first-maker of Ecclesiastical Music by us), which is exactly the same with his characterisation in the prologue of the editor (Panagiōtēs G. Pelopidēs, 'Prologos' (Prologue), in Chrysanthos of Madytos, *Theōrētikon mega tēs* Mousikēs, θ') and both are absent from the only extant autograph of Chrysanthos (1816). This is an argument for supporting the opinion that both characterisations were added by the editor, Panagiōtēs Pelopidēs.

[26] Paras. 8 and 49. So, the opinion of Pelopidēs that these are 'eras' of Musicians can be interpreted, in the case of the first two, as referring to parallel and not comparable chronologically eras.
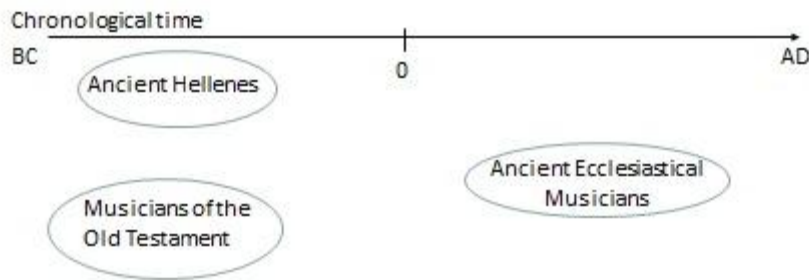
Table 1. The ancient world of the *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music*

The ancient ecclesiastical section, however, follows the former two in terms of chronology, according to the printed version of the source, judging from a statement found in the latter that also presents a synopsis of the ancient authors included who wrote in the Hellenic language, namely that their mention has had to do 'περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Μουσικῆς πρὸ τῆς Χριστιανικῆς ἐποχῆς' (with Hellenic Music before the Christian era) (para. 50). This statement situates the late ancient Hellenic and Roman authors to which the historical part of the Theōrētikon refers – such as Aristides Quintilianus, Alypius, Gaudentius, Nicomachus of Gerasa, Bacchius the Elder, Claudius Ptolemy, Theon of Smyrna, Lucian of Samosata, Plutarch, and Athenaeus – in an era necessarily older than that of the ancient ecclesiastical musicians. This seems to be vulnerable by any common-sense questioning of the following kind:
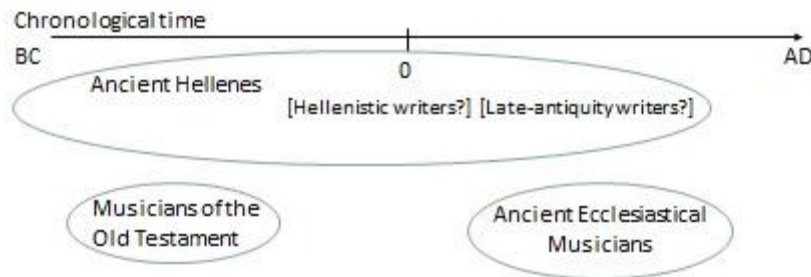
Table 2. Questioning the ancient world of the *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music*

There can be a rationale behind this: although some of the mentioned authors may have referred to music with text in the Hellenic language after the birth of Christianity, it seems that the pole of interest in their inclusion in the *Great* Theōrētikon has been their reference to a music that is Hellenic and is BC or before the founding of the Church on Pentecost day.[27] Or, it can be interpreted as a placing of all contemporaneous authors in the area of Hellenic Music, be them Christian or not, or as a lack of knowledge of most ancient Christian writers, such as the so-called Pseudo-Dionysius,[28] or as a demonstration of greater interest in Hellenic music BC than in Hellenic music of the first centuries after Christ. If such passages from the one ancient space to the other are viewed as gaps in the knowledge of Chrysanthos, the conversation may go on to *possibilities* on reasoning, such as the possibility that Chrysanthos had fewer sources at his disposal in comparison with present-day musicologists. However, such an approach would be incapable of dealing with the source as a text to be trusted,[29] for the lack of information cannot necessarily yield the conclusion that there has been an analogous lack of sources providing it, while the intentions of the author,

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[27] According to Chrysanthos from Madytos this statement and that which summarises all these authors as those who 'wrote in Hellenic about Hellenic Music' are not included in the only preserved autograph of Chrysanthos (copied by 1816) (see Geōrgios N. Kōnstantinou (ed.), *Theōrētikon mega tēs Mousikēs Chrysanthou tou ek Madytōn: to anekdoto autographo tou 1816, to entypo tou 1832* (Chysanthos of Madytos' Great *Theōrētikon* of Music: The 1816 Unpublished Manuscript, the 1832 printed edition) (Mousikologika meletēmata 1; Karyes: Megistē Monē Vatopaidiou, 2007), 98, 99, 100, 101). If these are not his views, but the editor's, then they could be explained as other conceptions of Chrysanthos's view of these authors, while the Chrysanthine view of them would be that they belonged to the ancient Hellenes in general (para. 9).

[28] On the so-called pseudo-Dionysius, see Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (2nd edn., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 57–60.

[29] See Tentes, 'Concept of Music by Chrysanthos from Madytos', 48–51.

if not accomplished in the text, are not definitely investigable (this, also according to Foucault's archaeology[30]). If these passages are seen in accordance with what the epistemological introduction of these words would call 'interest in what the sources present, rather than in what the world hidden behind sources might have been', then they can be viewed as: i) at a theoretical level, opportunities to contact and utilise what is *actually* in front of one's eyes, namely the source; ii) at a practical level, differences or similarities in the *consideration* of periods of music history, such as, for example, the similarity with the contemporary view that ancient music theory survived long after the domination of Christianity, but it did not refer to a music that was alive in practice. Notably Michael Psellos and Manuel Vryennios have been included together in the discussed source catalogue of ancient Hellenic interest, the second of the two reported as referring to 'περὶ τῆς ἐν Μουσικῇ ποσότητος κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους' (musical quantity according to the ancients) (para. 48), although they are authors of the second millennium after Christ. Besides, the statements that all these are about those 'οἵ τινες συνέγραψαν ἑλληνιστὶ περὶ Μουσικῆς ἑλληνικῆς' (who wrote in Hellenic about Hellenic Music) in para. 49 and about 'τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Μουσικῆς πρὸ τῆς Χριστιανικῆς ἐποχῆς' ('Hellenic Music before the Christian era') in para. 50 of the printed edition of the *Great* Theōrētikon are not extant in the autograph of Chrysanthos, so the first candidate for their positioning in the source is the editor Panagiōtēs Pelopidēs. Whoever is their author, they present, in accordance with the content of these parts of the source, as mentioned above, a view of this ancient Hellenic part of the *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music* more as an *area* of antiquity than as an *era* of it[31] – just like the Chrysanthine view of the Biblical part – both (Hellenic and Biblical) being areas of a broader antiquity that – literally – took place before the domination of Christian writers in Music.[32] If, then, these are to be viewed rather as areas than as eras, then the *Great* Theōrētikon of Chrysanthos from Madytos offers an early paradigm of setting the history of music on a table of one dimension, namely the (most often, today, horizontal) dimension of time:

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[30] Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic,* 37: an aim of archaeology is to perceive and describe a level of meaning '[…] loosed from the subjective consciousness of historical actors (but at the same time resisting the temptations of facile transcendentalism)'.

[31] In the prologue, Pelopidēs clearly calls all three of them 'eras', which indicates a different reading of the text of Chrysanthos as to this matter.

[32] Because the mention of the ancient authors in the Hellenic language, as already mentioned above, has had to do with Hellenic Music 'πρὸ τῆς Χριστιανικῆς ἐποχῆς' (before the Christian era) (para. 50). The initial position of the historical part of the *Great* Theōrētikon must have been first, namely before the theoretical part, as the only extant autograph (a copy of an older autograph, see Tentes, 'Methodological thoughts on the study of Chrysanthos from Madytos and the world around him') puts it. In the course of the autograph text up to para. 50 that is of interest at this point, as well as in most of the rest of the autograph, the idea of Hellenic Music as the object of the source is not concrete. It seems that, at least up to para.50, the object of the book is music in general, so the statement of para. 50 of the printed edition might be interpreted as referring to a music that is Hellenic and pre-Christian, not as referring to a pre-Christian phase of Hellenic Music.
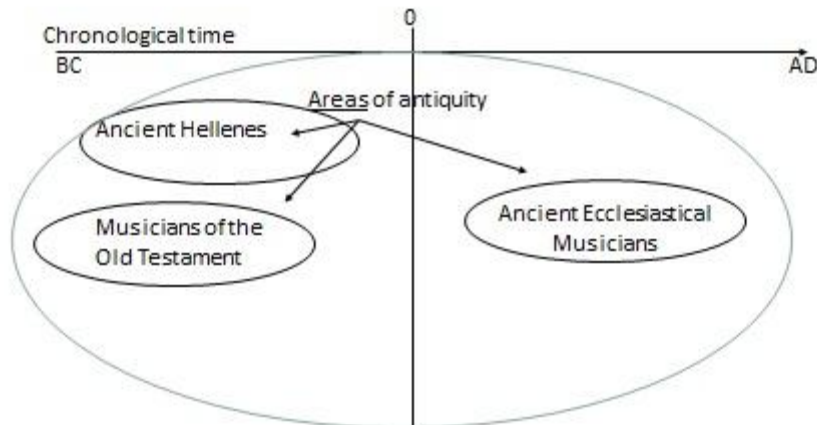
Table 3. The ancient world of the *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music*

Regarding the music-theoretical part of the source, the one beginning with the title 'Μουσικής θεωρητικής και πρακτικής βιβλίου πρώτου κεφάλαιον Α'' (Chapter A of Book A of Theoretical and Practical Music),[33] things are simplified as to the aforementioned notions of antiquity, namely general antiquity, ancient Hellenes, ancient Hebrews, and ancient ecclesiastical musicians: the first two categories are connected to the same Hellenic-speaking authors, thus leading us to identify them as to music theory. From this point on, as regards music-theoretical matters, the general notion of antiquity of the 'Theoretical and Practical Music' of the *Great* Theōrētikon will be considered as Hellenic.

III) **The general Hellenic antiquity in the part of music definitions of the *Great* Theōrētikon**
   1) Prologue

The primary definition of Music, other references to Aristides in central music-theoretical and more general matters, and the similarities that the comparison of the Chrysanthine and the Aristeidean divisions of Music yields, strengthen the opinion that the theoretical authority more trusted by Chrysanthos has been Aristides Quintilianus, something first reported by Romanou.[34] In the current essay a first particular horizontal and structural

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[33] Chrysanthos, *Theōrētikon mega tēs Mousikēs*, 1.

[34] Katy Romanou, 'A New Approach to the Work of Chrysanthos of Madytos: The New Method of Musical Notation in the Greek Church and the Mega Theōrētikon tēs Mousikēs', in Dimitri Conomos (ed.), *Studies in Eastern Chant*, v (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1990), 96, and Katy Romanou, 'Great Theory of Music by Chrysanthos from Madytos. An annotated translation', M.M. thesis (Indiana University, 1974), xxxi.

comparison of the *Great* Theōrētikon with Aristides' *Peri mousikēs* (On Music) will be attempted. In horizontal, narrative, terms, one may mention a number of pieces of evidence for such a claim: the definition of music as a science of *melos* and its contingents (para. 1); the Chrysanthine emphasis on *melos* (para. 2) and quotation of the division of the Aristidean *melos* (para. 4); Aristides' claim that music is a science (para. 3); the quotation of his whole division of music, with all its similarities to the Chrysanthine division of music (para. 9); the quotation of his genera of music (para. 13); all these appear only in the first chapter of the source. In terms of structure, the work is deeply influenced by Aristides Quintilianus' *On Music*:[35]

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[35] References to 'Romanou, *Great Theory*' in the following table mean Katy Romanou, *Great Theory of Music by Chrysanthos of Madytos* (New Rochelle, NY: The Axion Estin Foundation, 2010).

Contents of Chrysanthos's autograph ms. of Demetsana library
(and the printed edition, in case they do not appear in the ms.)

Correspondence with Aristides' *First [Book] On Music* & other sources
(enumeration of Aristidean parts according to the appendix of the table)

[Divisional category]	[Subject]	[Div. No.]	[Subject]	[Subject (div.no.)]	[Subject]
SECOND PART	Theoretical and Practical Music	IV 10	Theoretical and practical character		Primary definitions, Music divided in theoretical & practical, esp. harmonics (IV, V, esp. VAα2)
FIRST BOOK	[Definition and division of Music, *phthongos*, interval, system, consonance, and quantity]	IV, V	Basic definitions, Division of all music in theoretical and practical		
CHAPTER A´	How Music is Defined and Divided	IV, V	Basic definitions, Division of all music in theoretical and practical		
CHAPTER B´	On *phthongoi*		VAα2a: On *phthongoi*		
CHAPTER Γ´	On the *characters* of *phthongoi*				
CHAPTER Δ´	On the synthesis of Characters				
CHAPTER E´	On the *Solmisation* of the *Diatonic Genus*				
CHAPTER ΣΤ´	On Intervals		VAα2b: On intervals		
CHAPTER Z´	On Systems		VAα2c: On systems	Harmonics (VAα2)	
CHAPTER H´	On Consonances		[Referring to Euclid, [that is Cleonides] by fn]		
CHAPTER Θ´	On the section of the Canon		[Referring to Euclid by fn]		
CHAPTER I´	On the *Wheel* of the Ecclesiastical [Musicians]				
CHAPTER IA´	On the use of the *phthongoi* of the Wheel				
CHAPTER IB´	On the idioms of the *phthongoi* of the *Wheel*				
CHAPTER IΓ´	Section of the Canon according to the Wheel		VAα2c: On systems		
CHAPTER IΔ´	On *Triphōnia* [Tetrachord]				
CHAPTER IE´	Section of the Canon according to the *Triphōnia*				
CHAPTER IΣT´	On *Martyriai* [Signatures]				

Table 4. Structural correspondence of the *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music* with Aristides' *On Music* and other sources

Contents of Chrysanthos's autograph ms. of Demetsana library
(and the printed edition, in case they do not appear in the ms.)
[Divisional category]   [Subject]

Correspondence with Aristides' *First [Book] On Music* & other sources
(enumeration of Aristidean parts according to the appendix of the table)
[Div. No.]   [Subject]   [Subject (div.no.)] [Subject]

SECOND BOOK	[On quality]	
CHAPTER Α´	On the quality in Melody	
CHAPTER Β´	On *Hypostases* (probably only terminological similarity) IV13: Motion = *hypostasis* in various *chronoi*	
CHAPTER Γ´	On the *achronoi Hypostases*	
CHAPTER Δ´	On the difference of execution of the *phthongoi* of *Characters*	
CHAPTER Ε´	On Rhythm	VAα3f, b: On rhythmics and rhythm
CHAPTER ΣΤ´	On *Chronoi*	VAα3c, d, e: On the rhythmical *chronoi*
		Aα3ti: On first (and combined) *chronoi*
CHAPTER Ζ´	On Feet	VAα4c: On feet
		VAα3tii1: On foot
CHAPTER Η´	On Metres	VAα4d: On metres
CHAPTER Θ´	On Rhythms	VAα3tii3: On rhythms
CHAPTER Ι´	Recitative of the Ottoman rhythms	
CHAPTER ΙΑ´	On rhythmical Emphasis	
CHAPTER ΙΒ´	On the *tropes* of rhythms	VAα3tv: On rhythm-making (*rhythmopoiia*)
CHAPTER ΙΓ´	On Change in rhythms	VAα3tiv: On changes
		(referring to Aristoxenus)
CHAPTER ΙΔ´	On Rhythm-making	VAα3tv: On rhythm-making (*rhythmopoiia*)
	(§.207: "all on rhythms, according to Aristides Quintilianus")	
CHAPTER ΙΕ´	On *Cheironomy*	

Rhythmics
(& elements
of metrics)
(VAα3, 4)

Table 4 (continued). Structural correspondence of the *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music* with Aristides' *On Music* and other sources

Contents of Chrysanthos's autograph ms. of Demetsana library   **Correspondence with Aristides' *First [Book] On Music* & other sources**

(and the printed edition, in case they do not appear in the ms.)   **(enumeration of Aristidean parts according to the appendix of the table)**

[Divisional category]   [Subject]   [Div. No.]   [Subject]   [Subject (div.no.)]   [Subject]

[Divisional category]	[Subject]	[Div. No.]	[Subject]
THIRD BOOK	[On *genus*, *semitone*, and the conception of *difference in phthongoi*]	VAα2d:	On genera
CHAPTER Α´	On Genus	VAα2d:	On genera
CHAPTER Β´	On Semitones		
CHAPTER Γ´	On the difference in *phthongoi*		
CHAPTER Δ´	On the *Chromatic Genus*	VAα2d:	On genera
CHAPTER Ε´	On the *Phthongoi* of *Chromatic genus*		
CHAPTER ΣΤ´	On the *Solmisation* of the *Chromatic genus*		
CHAPTER Ζ´	On the *Enharmonic genus*	VAα2d:	On genera
CHAPTER Η´	On *Chroai*		
CHAPTER Θ´	How many the possible *Chroai* are		
FOURTH BOOK	[On *echos* and *phthora*]	VAα2e:	On tones
		Vaα2f:	On changes
CHAPTER Α´	On *Echos*	VAα2e:	On tones
CHAPTER Β´	On the eight *Echoi* according to Manouel Vryennios	[Almost a whole chapter according to Manouel Vryennios]	
CHAPTER Γ´	On the eight *Echoi* according to the psalmists		
CHAPTER Δ´	Idioms of the eight *Echoi*		
CHAPTER Ε´	On the *echoi* First and Plagal of the First		
CHAPTER ΣΤ´	On the *echoi* Second and Plagal of the Second		
CHAPTER Ζ´	On the *echoi* Third and Barys		
CHAPTER Η´	On the *echoi* Fourth and Plagal of the Fourth		
CHAPTER Θ´	On *Phthorai* [Modulation signs]	VAα2f: On changes	

Table 4 (continued). Structural correspondence of the *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music* with Aristides' *On Music* and other sources

Contents of Chrysanthos's autograph ms. of Demetsana library | **Correspondence with Aristides' *First [Book] On Music* & other sources**
(and the printed edition, in case they do not appear in the ms.) | **(enumeration of Aristidean parts according to the appendix of the table)**

[Divisional category] [Subject] | [Div. No.]   [Subject]   [Subject (div.no.)] [Subject]

FIFTH BOOK [On *melos*-making, musical *instruments*, | FIRST BOOK. VB, VAα2gii: On *melos*-making (*melopoiia*)
      listeners, *use* of Music, and *harmony*] | SECOND ⌐ 'Whether it is possible to educate
  | BOOK ⌐ by means of music or not […]'
  | FIRST BOOK. VBα: Uses

CHAPTER Αʹ On *Melos* – making |
CHAPTER Βʹ How the Psalmodies were *melised* | FIRST BOOK. VBα1, VAα2g: On *melos*-making (*melopoiia*)
CHAPTER Γʹ Current mode of *melising* |
CHAPTER Δʹ On Musical Instruments | (borrowing from Western sources according to Romanou, *Great Theory*, 20)

CHAPTER Εʹ Dispositions of the listeners of Music | (borrowing from Western sources according to Romanou, *Great Theory*, 20,
  | and including one reference to Aristides's Book B)

CHAPTER ΣΤʹ Use of Music | FIRST BOOK. VBα: Uses, and borrowings from Western sources;
  | also including lots of ancient paraphrases and quotations,
  | possibly coming from these Western sources; at the beginning, a long quotation from 'a
  | grammar of Music' attributed by Chrysanthos to John the Damascene

CHAPTER Ζʹ On Harmony | FIRST BOOK. VAα2gxv: Epilogue on the harmonic trope of music
  | (borrowing from Western sources according to Romanou, *Great Theory*, 20,
  | also including lots of ancient paraphrases and quotations,
  | possibly coming from these Western sources; most often reference to Aristoxenus)

(FIRST PART
[Book Αʹ] NARRATION ABOUT THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF MUSIC
[Book Βʹ] HOW TO APPROACH MUSIC)

Table 4 (continued). Structural correspondence of the *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music* with Aristides' *On Music* and other sources

FIRST [BOOK]

    I) Prologue

    II) Reasons for writing the whole text

    III) Invocation of God for assisting the word

    IV) Primary definitions

        1) Definitions of music

          a) Basic definition

          b) Definitions by others

        2) Definition of science

        3) Characterisation of music as an art

        4) Suiting music to perfect *melos*

        5) Need to consider melody, rhythm, and word

        6) From melody to *phōnē*

        7) From rhythm to motion of *phōnē*

        8) From word to metre

        9) Contingents of perfect *melos*

        10) Division of music into theoretical and practical and its rationale

        11) Subjects of music

          a) *Phōnē*

          b) Motion of body (=hypostasis in various *chronoi*)

        12) Definition of *chronos*

        13) Division of motion (of *phōnē*): simple and not simple

        14) Division of the not simple motion of *phōnē*

Appendix of Table 4. Draft structural table of the treatise *On Music* (mainly, the first book) of Aristides Quintilianus (text according to R. P. Winnington-Ingram (ed.), *Aristides Quintilianus De Musica libri tres* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubnerus, 1963)) (created for the purpose of comparison with the structure of Chrysanthos's *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music*)

V) Division of all music in theoretical and practical

A) Theoretics [and at least part of B) Practics]

α) Technics

1) Bridge to harmonics

a) Definition of movement

b) Movement by voice

c) Undivided species of movement by voice

d) *Tasis*

e) Two species of *tasis* of *phōnē*

i) *Anesis*

ii) *Epitasis*

f) Other names for *anesis* and *epitasis*

g) How *Baryte*s occurs

h) How *Oxytes* occurs

i) (Combining IV13, and IV5): Simple motion of *phōnē* = *tasis*

j) (Continuing from IV13): Melodic motion of *phōnē* = *phthongos*

k) Proclamation of discourse about *phthongos*

Appendix of Table 4 (continued). Draft structural table of the treatise *On Music* (mainly, the first book) of Aristides Quintilianus (text according to R. P. Winnington-Ingram (ed.), *Aristides Quintilianus De Musica libri tres* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubnerus, 1963))

2) Division of all **harmonics**:

    a) on *phthongoi*

    b) on intervals

    c) on systems

    d) on genera

    e) on tones

    f) on changes

    g) on (*melos* and) *melopoiia* (= 1st branch of uses)

        i) Perfect *melos*

        ii) *Melos* in harmonics

        iii) *Melopoiia*

        iv) Species of *melopoiia*

        v) Parts of *melopoiia*

        vi) *Lepsis*

        vii) *Mixis*

        viii) Use

        ix) Species of use of *melopoiia*: *agōgē, plokē, petteia*

            1) Species of *agōgē*: even, returning, peripheral

                a) Even

                b) Returning

                c) Peripheral

            2) *Plokē*

            3) *Petteia*

Appendix of Table 4 (continued). Draft structural table of the treatise *On Music* (mainly, the first book) of Aristides Quintilianus (text according to R. P. Winnington-Ingram (ed.), *Aristides Quintilianus De Musica libri tres* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubnerus, 1963))

x) Difference of *melopoiia* to melody

xi) Tropes of *melopoiia*

xii) Differences of *melopoiiai*

xiii) Reason why these are called *ēthē*

xiv) What else the perfect *melos* achieves: perfect *paideia*

xv) Epilogue on the harmonic trope of music

3) Rhythmics

    a) Rhythm in voice

    b) Definition of rhythm (on voice)

    c) The passions of rhythmical *chronoi* and the necessity of rhythm

    d) *Arsis*

    e) *Thesis*

    f) Definition of rhythmics

    g) The three sensual instruments by which every rhythm is considered

    h) The two sensual instruments by which the rhythm by music is considered

    i) What is rhythmicised in music

    j) Each one of these is considered separately and in combination with the rest

    k) *Melos*

    l) *Melos* with rhythm

    m) *Melos* with word

    n) Rhythm

Appendix of Table 4 (continued). Draft structural table of the treatise *On Music* (mainly, the first book) of Aristides Quintilianus (text according to R. P. Winnington-Ingram (ed.), *Aristides Quintilianus De Musica libri tres* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubnerus, 1963))

o) Rhythm with *melos*

p) Rhythm with word

q) Word with each one that has been mentioned

r) From all these mixed to *Hode*

s) Division of rhythm (connection with i)

t) Parts of rhythmics:

    i) on first (and combined) *chronoi*,

    ii) on podal genres (including 1) On foot, 2) On rhythmical genres, 3) On rhythms, 4) On podal genres, according to i) those who mix metrical theory with rhythmical theory, and ii) those who do not mix them)

    iii) on rhythmical *agōgē*

    iv) on changes

    v) on *rhythmopoiia* (= 2nd branch of uses, that is part of B) Practics)

4) Metrics

    a) On elements

    b) On syllables

    c) On feet

    d) On metres

    e) On poem (= Poetry (3rd branch of uses, that is part of B) Practics))

SECOND [BOOK]) Whether it is possible to educate by means of music or not […]

THIRD [BOOK] or β) Physics of music [see division of music, first branch; the reason for calling 'third' one of the two branches of theoretics is the interposition of the second book, a book with content that is external to the division of music]

Appendix of Table 4 (continued). Draft structural table of the treatise *On Music* (mainly, the first book) of Aristides Quintilianus (text according to R. P. Winnington-Ingram (ed.), *Aristides Quintilianus De Musica libri tres* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubnerus, 1963))

In this table of ancient influences, which mainly refers to the first book of Aristides (except for the fifth book of Chrysanthos, that seems to be a structural loan of the second Aristidean book), one should consider the noted correspondences only as structural and terminological similarities, not as similarities of meanings of terms. As shown in it, the first book of the first part of the *Great* Theōrētikon presents structural analogies with the basic definitions, the basic division of music in theoretical and practical, and the branch 'Harmonics' of the 'Technics' of the 'Theoretical music' of Aristides' work. The greatest part of the second book of the same part of the *Great* Theōrētikon has been structurally influenced by the 'Rhythmics' of the 'Technics' of the 'Theoretical' branch of Aristides, as well as by his 'Metrics'. Similarly, the third book of the first part of the 'Theōrētikon' has been structurally influenced by the chapter of 'Harmonics' on genera, while the fifth structurally corresponds with Aristides' chapters on tones and on changes of 'Harmonics', for its content mainly refers to the contemporary and older modes. Chrysanthos' fifth book seems to be the structural analogue of Aristides' 'On *melopoiia*' of his practical part 'Uses' (Chrēstikon), his second book dealing with music education; this book has taken material from many Western sources of the time of Chrysanthos or a little older, something that Romanou has pointed out,[36] as well as from many ancient Hellenic sources including Aristides and Byzantine ones. Apart from Aristides Quintilianus' *On Music*, the influence of Aristoxenus' *Harmonika Stoicheia* (Harmonic Elements) is also certain, not only because the First Book of Aristides' *On Music* is influenced by Aristoxenus, but also due to a continuous reference of Chrysanthos to him. Regarding the rhythmical matters, in particular, Chrysanthos refers to Aristoxenus at certain points even more often than to Aristides, for example in Chapter 13 of the Second Book, 'On Change in Rhythms', although his final remark in para. 207 of the printed edition – which is the final paragraph of the rhythmical part of the *Great* Theōrētikon that is extensively affected by ancient theory – is that 'this much, therefore, on rhythms we report as well, which are exposed according to the opinion of Aristides Quintilianus', a statement that indicates a greater degree of respect on the part of Chrysanthos to Aristides than to Aristoxenus as far as the matter of rhythm is concerned.[37]

The exact and particular impact of ancient authors on Chrysanthos is still in question. A study of some of the modes in which the *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music*, both in its printed and handwritten versions, receives this general and Hellenic antiquity by means of the chapter of the *Great* Theōrētikon that undertakes the central music-theoretical task of defining and dividing music, follows.[38]

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[36] Ibid. 20.

[37] Chrysanthos, *Theōrētikon mega tēs Mousikēs*, 91.

[38] A discussion of the reception of antiquity in the front part of the *Great* Theōrētikon, possibly compiled by Panagiotēs Pelopidēs, the student of Chrysanthos and editor of the first publication in print, could not be included in this essay for length reasons. Some thoughts can be found in Tentes, 'Concept of Music by Chrysanthos from Madytos', 104 ff and more extensive discussion in a lengthier unpublished version of the current essay.

2) The definition of Music by Aristides Quintilianus (para. 1)

'Music is a science of melos, and of the contingencies around melos'[39] (para. 1). The definition is Aristides Quintilianus', not only because the two definitions are the same – except for a translation into colloquial in Chrysanthos's text,[40] something that Chrysanthos often does, as Romanou was again the first to notice[41] – but mainly because there is a reference to Aristides in an attached footnote of the source.[42] The reception of antiquity at this point is exact, yet linguistically simplifying. The person, who is presented first as a definer of Music is Aristides, and the definition wishes music to be a science.[43] The following reasoning of Chrysanthos regarding this scientific condition of Music is right to the spot: the presented reason for which Aristides has called Music a *science* is that vocal notes, the subject or matter of Music '[…] εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ διακρίνωνται ἀκριβῶς, καὶ νὰ διαγινώσκωνται ἀπταίστως ἀπὸ τοὺς καλοὺς μουσικοὺς πάντοτε παρομοίως' ([…] can be precisely discerned and become infallibly known by good musicians at all times and in similar ways) (para. 3).[44] Then, precise discernment and infallible knowledge are two prerequisites of Aristidean science according to the source, an opinion that points out the receiving stance of the *Great* Theōrētikon as one that performs exactitude (due to this 'διακρίνονται ἀκριβῶς' (are precisely discerned), but also perfectionism (due to these 'ἀκριβῶς' (precisely) and 'ἀπταίστως' (infallibly), conceptualisation (due to 'διαγινώσκονται' (become known) and rationalisation (due to 'διαγινώσκονται ἀπταίστως' (become infallibly known)). Both the definition of Music by Aristides and Chrysanthos's consideration of the ability of good musicians are accepted as truths contemporaneous to the source, while his reasoning underlying the definition of Music belongs to the past. Since a statement referring to the present is used as a justification of a definition declared in the past (that is, Aristides' past saying), the same statement could justify the same definition in the present as well, unless otherwise indicated. That is, the reason for Music being a science is that its subject, vocal notes, '[…] εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ διακρίνωνται ἀκριβῶς, καὶ νὰ διαγινώσκωνται ἀπταίστως ἀπὸ τοὺς καλοὺς μουσικοὺς πάντοτε παρομοίως' ([…] *can* be precisely discerned and

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[39] Chrysanthos, *Theōrētikon mega tēs Mousikēs*, 1, para. 1. Cf. Bacchius Senior, 'Eisagōgē technēs mousikēs' (Introduction to the Art of Music), in Carolus Janus (ed.), *Musici Scriptores Graeci* (*Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*; Leipzig: Teubner, 1895), 292, ll. 3–4. For *melos*, see Chrysanthos, *Theōrētikon mega tēs Mousikēs*, 2 and cf. Thomas Mathiesen (ed.), *Aristides Quintilianus: On Music in Three Books* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 16–17 n. 111. On the term 'contingency', see Mathiesen's commentary on Aristides' work, ibid. 16–17. On the concepts contingent to *melos* cf. also Chrysanthos, *Theōrētikon mega tēs Mousikēs*, 4, para. 8.

[40] Winnington-Ingram (ed.), *Aristidis Quintiliani de Musica libri tres*, 4, ll. 18–19.

[41] Romanou, 'A New Approach', 96.

[42] 'Aristides' is in footnote (α).

[43] On music and science cf. Chrysanthos, *Theōrētikon mega tēs Mousikēs*, 2 (para. 3), Winnington-Ingram (ed.), *Aristidis Quintiliani de Musica libri tres*, 1, ll. 8–13, op. cit., 4, ll. 18–19. There has been only one, more indirect, connection of them in the *Great* Theōrētikon up to the studied passage, namely at the discovery of time in Music by *the three teachers* (Pelopides' p. ε΄); science was involved then in their conferring with each other that resulted in this discovery.

[44] This rationale does not exist in the autograph of 1816. On *vocal notes* (phthongoi), see section 4, below.

become infallibly known by good musicians at all times and in similar ways) (para. 3).[45] The ending phrase of the paragraph – 'καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἶπεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης ἐπιστήμην τὴν Μουσικήν' (this is why Aristides called Music a science) – offers another present reasoning in relation to the quoted words (due to the present tense of the verb *to be*), supporting the above argument of present validity of the whole quotation, as well as the claim of the usefulness of this source-paragraph for the matter of reception; it also concludes the sentence, and positions Aristides as an authority for the volume for the second time within the first two pages of the main text. The conclusion of the sentence is that the reason for Aristides' nomination of music as a science is that its matter, notes, can be precisely discerned and become infallibly known by the good musicians.[46] The connection of science to infallible knowledge is also met in Aristides' text, the *[Three Books] on Music*,[47] but in a more general context, not that of notes*:* in the source, 'ἐπιστήμη μὲν οὖν ἐστιν, ᾗ γνῶσις ἀσφαλὴς ὑπάρχει καὶ ἀδιάπτωτος' (science […] is that in which there is infallible and unfailing knowledge).[48] The position of the two sentences a little after the definition of music in both sources leads to a hypothesis that the Chrysanthine source interprets the Aristidean one at this point. If this hypothesis is correct, Chrysanthos's reception of antiquity here is characterised by specification of a general matter, that of science, to a specific one, that of the science of notes and their users, the musicians.

3) Other ancient definitions of music in para. 1

After the reference to Aristides as the definer of Chrysanthine Music, a catalogue of definitions of Music by other authorities follows in the *Great* Theōrētikon, as it happens with the First Book on Music of Aristides. Hence, one can hypothesise that Chrysanthos might have borrowed from Aristides Quintilianus not only his main definition of music, but also the idea of quoting other definitions of music.[49] Chrysanthos, however, presents three definitions that are completely different from those quoted by Aristides:[50]

- Plato: 'Μουσική ἐστι τρόπων μίμημα βελτιόνων ἢ χειρόνων ἀνθρώπων' (Music is an imitation of modes of better or worse humans).[51]

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[45] Italics mine. The matter of the usefulness of theoretical knowledge of music appears at this point once more, as it had happened in the prologue of the source (p. ε΄-θ΄, mainly).

[46] For knowledge related to music, cf. Winnington-Ingram (ed.), *Aristidis Quintiliani de Musica libri tres*, 3, ll. 3–6; 4, ll. 22–23; 5, ll. 3–43; 6, ll. 8–11. I have searched only in the chapters 1–5 of Aristides, where he introduces his main categories (see also, Mathiesen (ed.), *Aristides*, 15–16).

[47] In Winnington-Ingram (ed.), *Aristidis Quintiliani de Musica libri tres*, 4, ll. 24–25.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid. 4, ll. 19–23.

[50] For the other three definitions of music by groups of musicians and a name-giving of music in the same paragraph of the source, see the diagram at the end of this section.

[51] Chrysanthos, *Theōrētikon mega tēs Mousikēs*, 1 n. 1; 'μουσικήν ἐστιν τρόπων μιμήματα βελτιόνων καὶ χειρόνων ἀνθρώπων' cf. Plato, 'Leges', in John Burnet, *Platonis opera*, v (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907; repr. 1967), retrieved from Darl J. Dumont and Randall M. Smith (eds.), *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* <http://www.tlg.uci.edu/>, accessed 21 October 2013, Stephanus page 798, section d, ll. 8–9.

- Nikēphoros Vlemmydēs: 'Μουσική ἐστι γνῶσις ποσοῦ διωρισμένου ἐν σχέσει' (Music is knowledge of amount that is defined in ratio).[52]
- The 'Hermes' author: 'Music is the order of all things'.[53]

Out of the three, only the first and the third can be considered as ancient Hellenic, the first possibly taken from the *Laws* of Plato, and the third from Chapter 13 of the rather mythical Hermes Trismegistus, the alleged ancient Egyptian magus to whom Hellenic writings were attributed during the Roman period. If the original passage of Hermes that was paraphrased by Chrysanthos is the following, 'Knowing music is nothing more than being versed in the correct sequence of all things together as allotted by divine reason', then this reception of antiquity involves a notion of particularisation once more, for it focuses on defining music, so it does not include the fact that Hermes's definition is a definition of *knowing music*, not of music itself. It also excludes the fact that in the Hermetic text, music is the *correct* sequence while in the Chrysanthine text it is merely a sequence, so it is less rationalistic-idealistic. In the former, it is of all things *together*, *as allotted by divine reason*, which is not the case in the 'Theōrētikon', resulting in a reception of antiquity that departs from the ancient divine and tends to be more simplifying. The aforementioned definitions of music in the first Chapter of the source, plus two more found scattered in it, follow:[54]

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[52] Chrysanthos, *Theōrētikon mega tēs Mousikēs*, 1 n. 1. The definition of Vlemmydēs in the manuscript Nikēphorou tou Vlemmidou [*sic*], Eisagōgikēs epitomēs biblion prōton; Peri logikēs (On logic; first book of introductory epitome by Nikēphoros Vlemmidēs [*sic*]), National Library of Argyroupolis of Pontos 'Kyriakidēs' (Naousa of Central Macedonia), Antōnios Sigalas's numbering 6, possibly copied by an 'Ioannēs anagnōstēs' and dated 1680, (according to the manuscript fo. 102ᵛ, digitalised by the Aristotle University of Thessalonica <http://invenio.lib.auth.gr/record/126688/?ln=el>) is exactly the same (p. 26). I have not seen any critical edition of the writing of Vlemmydēs yet.

[53] Ibid. See Hermes Trismegistus, 'A Holy Book of Hermes Trismegistus addressed to Asclepius', in Brian P. Copenhaver (ed.), *Hermetica: The Greek* Corpus Hermeticum *and the Latin* Asclepius *in a New English Translation, with Notes and Introduction*, trans. Brian P. Copenhaver (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 74, chapter 13: 'Knowing music is nothing more than being versed in the correct sequence of all things together as allotted by divine reason.' Page 1 of the Chrysanthine autograph of 1816 includes the opinion of Hermes among the opinion of the old writers, not among the first definitions by others as the printed version.

[54] Chrysanthos, *Theōrētikon mega tēs Mousikēs*, 1 n. 1. This extended and very definitive footnote also includes the piece of information that according to Hesychius Alexandrinus (Fifth–Sixth c.) 'ἔδιδον εἰς ὅλας τὰς τέχνας τὸ ὄνομα τῆς μουσικῆς' (gave the name of music to all arts); this can be found in Hesychius Alexandrinus, [Lexicon A-O, letter mu, entry 1748, l. 1], in Kurt Latte (ed.), *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, i (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1953), ii (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1966), retrieved from Darl J. Dumont and Randall M. Smith (eds.), Thesaurus Linguae Graecae <http://www.tlg.uci.edu/>, accessed 21 October 2013, as 'music; every *technē*, by the Attics' (italics mine). For '*everything* in the world' see Tentes, 'Concept of Music by Chrysanthos from Madytos', 219–220. One of the examples given by the autograph at this point is the definition by Hermes, which in the printed edition had been given between the others' definitions after Aristides'.
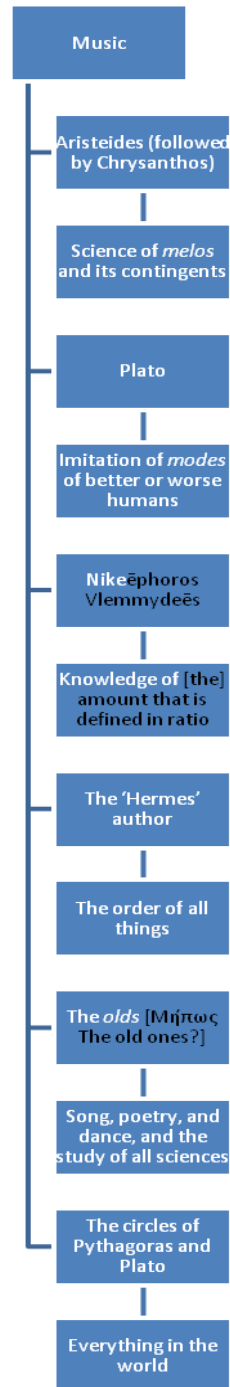
Table 5. The definitions of music by others in the First Chapter of the *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music*

If this collection of definitions is considered, then a sense of variety and difference is formed regarding what music is according to the neo-Roman and ancient writers. Music is an *imitation* according to Plato; for Nikēphoros Vlemmydēs it is *knowledge*; for the 'Hermes' author, an *order*; for the *old ones* of the past of the *Great* Theōrētikon, song, poetry, dance, and the study of all sciences; for, the circles of Pythagoras and Plato, everything; while for Aristides, the authority most trusted by Chrysanthos, it is a *science*, the science of *melos*.

4) *Melos*

The Chrysanthine explanation of the Aristidean standpoint that Music is a *science* is performed by means of defining the central music-theoretical term that is involved in it: *melos*. Although the Chrysanthine definition of melos is not identical to – and does not quote – any ancient one, the fact that a) the previous phrase of the Theōrētikon – the definition of music – is a quotation from Aristides, and b) the Aristidean definition of *melos* slightly resembles the Chrysanthine one, both allow the hypothesis of another Aristidean impact on Chrysanthos. For, the Chrysanthine *melos* is a 'line of vocal notes, succeeding each other', while Aristides' *melos* is a weaving of vocal notes.[55] In a footnote, however, the text includes the following definition of Bacchius the Elder: 'μέλος ἐστὶν, [*sic*] ἄνεσις καὶ ἐπίτασις, δι' ἐμμελῶν φθόγγων γινομένη' (melos is un-straining descent and straining ascent, made by melodious notes).[56] The explanation of the Chrysanthine definition of *melos* is consistent to the previous one; it is performed by clarifying the new unknown musical term, the *vocal note*: 'Φθόγγος δὲ εἶναι, φωνῆς πτῶσις ἐμμελής, [*sic*] ἐπὶ μίαν τάσιν' (The vocal note is a melodic fall of voice on a strain).[57] At the end of the paragraph, Chrysanthos refers to Euclid by footnote. The phrase 'Φθόγγος μὲν οὖν ἐστι φωνῆς πτῶσις ἐμμελὴς ἐπὶ μίαν τάσιν' (The vocal note is a melodic fall of voice on a strain) is the definition

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[55] Cf. the 'line of vocal notes, succeeding each other' (which translates Chrysanthos's 'σειρὰ φθόγγων, διαδεχομένων ἀλλήλους', Chrysanthos, *Theōrētikon mega tēs Mousikēs*, 2) with Mathiesen's translation of the 'πλοκή' of Aristides as 'succession'. Mathiesen, *Aristides*, 92. See some grammar for *melos* in ibid. 16 n. 111. Furthermore, cf. the following: Bacchius, 'Eisagōgē technēs mousikēs', 297, ll. 22–23; [Bellermann's Anonymous III], [untitled] 'Μουσική […]', in Dietmar Najock (ed.), *Anonyma de musica scripta Bellermanniana* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1975), 9, l. 68; 13, ll. 10–13; 13, ll. 14–16; Theophrastus of Eresus, 'Peri Mousikēs' (On Music), in William W. Fortenbaugh et al. (eds.), *Theophrastus of Eresus: Sources for his Life, Writings, Thought & Influence. Part Two, Psychology, Human Physiology, Living Creatures, Botany, Ethics, Religion, Politics, Rhetoric and Poetics, Music, Miscellanea* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 564, ll. 23–24, 27–29; Aristoxenus, 'Rythmikōn stoicheiōn B′′ (Rythmic Elements B′), in Lionel Pearson (ed.), *Aristoxenus: Elementa Rhythmica: The Fragment of Book II and the Additional Evidence for Aristoxenean Rhythmic Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 6, l. 19; Aristoxenus, 'Harmonika Stoicheia' (Harmonic Elements), in Rosetta da Rios (ed.), *Aristoxeni elementa harmonica* (Rome: Polygraphica, 1954), 23, ll. 16–17; 67, ll. 6–8, retrieved from Darl J. Dumont and Randall M. Smith (eds.), *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* <http://www.tlg.uci.edu/>, accessed 21 October 2013; Claudius Ptolemy, 'Mousika' ('Music'), in Karl von Jan (ed.) *Musici scriptores Graeci* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1895; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1962), section 20, ll. 4–5, retrieved from Darl J. Dumont and Randall M. Smith (eds.), *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* <http://www.tlg.uci.edu/>, accessed 21 October 2013.

[56] Chrysanthos, *Theōrētikon mega tēs Mousikēs*, 2 n. (a) para. 3. On *anesis*, see Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, rev. Henry Stuart Jones (9th edn., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 135, and on *epitasis* ibid. 664. Cf. Bacchius, 'Eisagōgē Technēs Mousikēs', 297, ll. 22–23.

[57] Chrysanthos, *Theōrētikon mega tēs Mousikēs*, 2 (italics mine).

in Meibomius's *Antiquae Musicae Auctores Septem: Graece et Latine* (Seven Authors of Greek and Latin Ancient Music),[58] which renders Chrysanthos's reception of antiquity fastidious in the choice of words. Regarding the identification of source references, the Chrysanthine definition of note is therefore Euclidean according to the edition of Meibomius, that is Cleonidean (for the work 'Eisagōgē harmonikē' (Harmonic Introduction) is Cleonides',[59] as is well-known today). Chrysanthos refers to the Meibomian edition of ancient authors also in the historical part of the Theōrētikon,[60] writing that 'Μάρκος ὁ Μεϊβώμιος ἐξέδωκε βίβλον, περιέχουσαν μετὰ Λατινικῆς μεταφράσεως καὶ σχολίων τὰ συγγράμματα, διαγράμματα, καὶ σημεῖα, ἑπτὰ μουσικῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ἀριστοξένου, Εὐκλείδου, Νικομάχου, Ἀλυπίου, Γαυδεντίου, Βακχείου, καὶ Ἀριστείδου' (Marcos Meibomius published a book, including writings, diagrams, and signs of seven musical Greeks, with Latin translation and comments: Aristoxenus, Euclid, Nicomachus, Alypius, Gaudentius, Bacchius, and Aristides); the order of authors is the same as that in the Meibomius edition, a fact that, together with the previous word-by-word quotation of the definition of the note, allows the assumption that Chrysanthos had in front of his eyes the Meibomian edition when writing this part of the Theōrētikon.

Still at the same pace, an interpretation of this 'Euclidean' passage follows as the next sentence of the *Great* Theōrētikon: 'ὁ φθόγγος εἶναι εὔγαλμα φωνῆς ἤ ἀπὸ ἀνθρωπίνου στόματος, ἤ ἀπὸ αὐλοῦ [*sic*], ἤ ἀπὸ χορδῆς, οὔσης ἐπάνω εἰς ἕν τέντωμα' (note is a *fair letting-out* [*eugalma*] of voice either from a human mouth, or from a flute, or from a string, which is at a single tensity).[61] This sentence *is* an interpretation of the previous one, because it begins with the word *ἤγουν*, which means 'that is to say'. The word *eugalma* (εὔγαλμα) seems to be the combination of two things: something that goes out and something beautiful. Thus, *note* is a beautifully out-going concept in the Theōrētikon, hence it is a vocal instance, not only a notational one. In this case of reception, *eumelic fall* is interpreted by Chrysanthos as *fair letting-out* (*eugalma*), which retains the beautifulness of the note but hides its melic nature and converts its being a *fall* into being a letting out of voice, voice being preserved in the new definition. The latter includes the cause of the *phōnē*, which can be either a human mouth, or a flute, or a string; in all cases, *phōnē* is directed *on* a tensity according to the original definition, a tenseness one could say, an interpretation that might be used also today for the ancient word *tasis* (tensity). Thus, in this case, the reception of

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[58] Marcus Meibomius, 'Euclidis Introductio Harmonica', *Antiquae Musicae Auctores Septem: Graece et Latine*, i (Amsterdam: Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1652), 1. See below in the same paragraph of the main text.

[59] Thomas J. Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Publications of the Center for the History of Music Theory and Literature, 2; Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 344–346.

[60] Chrysanthos, *Theōrētikon mega tēs Mousikēs*, XXIX n. b. Romanou, 'Great Theory', 265 n. d mentions that 'Chrysanthos refers to the Meibom edition', referring to Chrysanthos's reference to 'Aristides. book α', p. 28', just one paragraph after the reference to Euclid. Thanks to Romanou's referring also to Aristides Quintilianus' *de Musica*, book I (as 'first book', n. c), I can recommend comparison of the passage with Winnington-Ingram (ed.), *Aristidis Quintiliani De Musica libri tres*, 7, ll. 15–16; 6, ll. 25–28 (cf. Romanou, 'Great Theory', n. b).

[61] Chrysanthos, *Theōrētikon mega tēs Mousikēs*, 2, para. 3; italics mine. Cf. Winnington-Ingram (ed.), *Aristidis Quintiliani De Musica libri tres*, 6, ll. 25–28 (cf. the reference to Aristides by Romanou, ibid. ('first book', n. b)).

antiquity is characterised by a distantiation from the melic nature of the note, which is not surprising considering that many modern theories of ecclesiastical music ignore the importance of the concept of *melos* in music. The reception is also characterised by a physiological emphasis on the formation of the note, rather than on the instance of fall of the *phōnē* on a tensity of the ancient note, and a preservation of the subject of the production of notes – which is the *phōnē* – and of the object of the direction of the *phōnē* – which is a tensity.

In this way, the definition of Music goes all the way down to the concept of the *voice*, through the *melos* and the *note*. The explanation of the last definition, that of the *note*, which introduces the *phōnē*, is not done by means of a new definition that includes simpler terms. It is performed by means of negation, that is, of explaining in which case the *phōnē* and its *fall* are not related to the *note*, as well as by setting the preconditions that the *fall of the phōnē* has to meet in order to be called *note*. However, the definition of the *phōnē* comes later in the *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music*, as *phōna* according to the ancient Attic dialect, and it is attributed to Plato: 'Φωνὰ δ' ἐστὶ μὲν πλᾶξις ἐν ἀέρι, διϊκνουμένα ποτὶ τὰν ψυχὰν δι' ὤτων […]' (*Phōna* is a hit in air, which comes through towards the psyche through the ears […]),[62] referring for a second time to Plato's *Timaeus Locrus*.[63] The *phōnē* is a stroke in the air that reaches the soul through the ears; the reaching of the soul is a precondition for a sound to be a *phōnē*. *Phōnē*, *note*, and *melos*, connect Chrysanthine Music to the soul by definition, giving a Platonic psychosomatic tone to Chrysanthos's Aristidean conception of the whole science of *melos*: Music.

C) Conclusion and Further Thoughts

Chrysanthos's reception of antiquity in the discussed part of his *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music* has presented structural and terminological faithfulness and difference in relation to the work *On Music* by Aristides Quintilianus. In the domain of meaning, it has presented exactness, simplification, exactitude, perfectionism, rationalisation, conceptualisation, particularisation, dismissal of rationalisation and idealism, as well as distantiation. In the following parts of the source it also presents: emphasis on physiology, preservation of subjects, exactness, and other, probably unpredictable, processes – such as the presentation of the ancient Hellenic, Biblical, and ancient ecclesiastical worlds as *areas* of antiquity, rather than as *eras* of it. Having in mind that when it comes closer to the basics of music theory Chrysanthos is more exact in quotation rather than in the case of more particular matters, all of these processes indicate an attitude of Chrysanthos towards his sources that is centred on faithfulness, ranging from criticism to indifference. This reminds of the intellectual environment in which he can be situated: the Patriarchal Court at the

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[62] Chrysanthos, *Theōrētikon mega tēs Mousikēs*, 124 n.
[63] 'Platon. Tim. Loc. fo. 21.' I have identified this as Timaeus Locrus, 'Fragmenta et titulus', 220, l. 4 not with one of Plato's works. On the first reference to Timaeus in the *Great* Theōrētikon see footnote 18. The Timaean definition is not included in the autograph of 1816.

Phanarion of Constantinople, especially during the Patriarchies of Kyrillos VI – the Patriarch who approved of Chrysanthos's work – and later of Constantios I – the one who at least advised him on writing the *Great* Theōrētikon, in which the study of the ancients was considered necessary for the *paideia* of the Hellenic nation. However, this eclectic attitude of the *Great* Theōrētikon together with its other main focus – that on contemporary ecclesiastical music – suggest a distantiation of Chrysanthos from the error of divining antiquity. For these reasons, it is crucial to comprehend that one cannot simply dismiss the theoretical core of the *Great* Theōrētikon as a mere gathering of others' sayings, that is to say, as a work lacking creativity and con-temporality for its greatest part, as a first reading might mislead them to do. For, by such a mode of thought, one would fail to comprehend the essence of the *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music* as a theory dealing with nothing less than a music beyond theory, practice, and persons,[64] by means of receiving other theories from antiquity, Rome, and New Rome. They would fail to follow these processes of reception; hence, they would have to reduce the value of writing theories of music on the basis of older theories (namely, *sources*). They would also consider music theory as a discipline of a useless past (hence, they would dare to challenge most of Thomas Christensen's article 'Music Theory and its Histories'[65]). Thereafter, they should reject the work of early modern writers (thanks to which testimonies of older sources have been transmitted to us and methodologies on their study has developed into present-day research), and they should then declare most of the Hellenistic writings on music (thanks to which the ancient Hellenic theory has been transmitted to us) as mere gatherings of others' sayings as well. On the contrary, works such as the *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music* might be more fruitfully considered not only as solid music theories based on sources (as are most of (or, should I better say, all) scholarly works of today), but also as important early new vehicles of music-theoretical traditions, which revisit the past, recast the present, and form the future, sometimes in ways unlike ours, in other cases as we do. Therefore, such works offer a bridge to the ancient and more recent past worthy to be studied. We may thus understand the past in better-documented (or, rather, monumented in the Foucauldian sense) modes, and re-consider our own position in history and research from the beginning, from the *archē*.

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[64] On the music of the *Great* Theōrētikon as a concept beyond theory, practice, and persons, see my unpublished written paper 'An Attempt to Connect Research on Byzantine Music with Recent Theories of Musicology at the Study-case of the *Great* Theōrētikon *of Music*'.

[65] Thomas Christensen, 'Music Theory and Its Histories', in Christopher Hatch and David W. Bernstein (eds.), *Music theory and the exploration of the past* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 9–39.

A Dionysian Aspect of Rationalisation in Music.
A Trace of Nietzsche in Max Weber's *Musikstudie*

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ABSTRACT: Max Weber's writing on music, the *Musikstudie* (the Study on Music, as it is usually called) originated in the period between 1910 and 1913. Being an investigation of the paths of rationalisation inherent in the tonal material of Western music, Weber's study on music is actually quite different from what today is understood as sociology of music. To a great extent, the study is concerned with the aesthetics of music and issues raised in the context of *fin-de-siècle* discussions, including the reception of ancient Greek music. For Weber, 'rationalised' music meant the most 'developed', the most 'complex', and the 'best' music that had ever been. For Weber, the 'great' works of German composers constituted the peak of the rationalisation process, starting with Johann Sebastian Bach and finishing with Richard Wagner. However, Weber identified the beginnings of 'the paths of rationalisation' in the ancient world, in which, according to him, the firm connection between music and religion had been established. Analysing Weber's approach to music, I will address the question of the importance of Friedrich Nietzsche's discourse on music and religion in the ancient world for the formation of Weber's theory on the same matter. I will argue that it is relevant to construe Weber's theory on music as having been influenced by Friedrich Nietzsche's Dionysian/Apollonian dichotomy. I will compare Nietzsche's analysis of the ascetic and the orgiastic qualities of music and religion with Weber's theory on ascetic and ecstatic religions. Finally, I will draw some conclusions on Weber's understanding of music in contemporary Germany as being the most adequate for the 'rebirth' of ancient ideals.

1. Introduction

Bearing in mind that the *Musikstudie* (usually translated as *The Rational and Social Foundations of Music*, 1921) is a piece of writing by a sociologist, Weber's study on music – effectively an investigation of the tonal material of Western music – actually differs significantly from what is understood as sociology of music today.[1] The study involves, to a great extent, aesthetics of music and predominant issues of many philosophical discussions at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, including the reception of ancient Greek music.

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[1] In the last decade of his life (from 1910 until 1920) Weber embarked upon a new project of dealing with numerous aspects of modern culture and he planned to write a study on sociology of culture which should have included music, architecture, painting, sculpture and literature. Although Weber's sudden death prevented him from finishing it, the part referring to history and sociology of music had been written. This piece of writing is itself unfinished and saved in fragments; still, it had its first publication in 1921, was republished in 1992, and rediscussed recently thanks to an elaborative introductory study from 2004 written by Christoph Braun and Ludwig Finscher. Christoph Braun and Ludwig Finscher, 'Einleitung', in Christoph Braun and Ludwig Finscher (eds.), *Max Weber: Gesamtausgabe*, i/14: *Zur Musiksoziologie. Nachlaß 1921* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 40–41.

Until recently, Weber's discourse on culture, art and music (unlike his work that refers to law, economics and religion) had been totally neglected. It is, furthermore, almost completely unknown that Weber's dealing with music made him 'discover', as his wife noted, the very concept of rationalisation in occidental civilisation as a whole.[2] Thus, it was firstly through music that Weber constructed his concept of rationalisation. Bearing in mind that the concept of rationalisation is one of the most important and best-known elements of the author's work, the mentioned information is crucial for construing certain new (disregarded) aspects of Weber's sociological theory. Only after he had contemplated music history as a process of rationalised progress did Weber ponder over some other aspects of social life that were potentially governed by the same logic. Therefore, the very concept of rationalisation was embedded in Weber's narrative on music history, and this narrative was marked by many well-known theories of numerous contemporary scholars that discussed music.[3] Weber was also acquainted with contemporary philosophical and literary discourses,[4] as well as with the contemporaneous music scene.[5] Like most Germans of the time, Weber was a Wagner fan and he visited Bayreuth twice.[6]

This paper discusses that aspect of Weber's theory which refers to the reception of ancient Greece. Weber identified the beginnings of 'the paths of rationalisation' in the ancient world, which of course was rather usual for the time and the place he lived in. Namely, nineteenth-century Germany was highly characteristic for its reception of ancient Greek culture. By analysing the firm connection between music and religion that was established both in the ancient world and in Romanticism, Weber's discourse aligned itself with contemporary discourses on music that dealt with Germany's reception of ancient Greek culture, as I will demonstrate subsequently.

This paper tackles a number of issues. As far as Weber's approach to music is concerned, I will examine the importance of Friedrich Nietzsche's discourse on music and religion in the ancient world for the formation of Weber's theory on the same matter. Weber's theory on music may indeed be construed as having been influenced by Friedrich Nietzsche's Dionysian/Apollonian dichotomy. Namely, I will highlight the relevance of Nietzsche's reception of Greek antiquity for Max Weber's *Musikstudie*. It is, however, quite important to stress that Weber's theory was shaped by a number of influences, and, furthermore, that

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[2] Marianne Weber, *Max Weber. Ein Lebensbild* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1984), 25–45.

[3] Weber was thoroughly acquainted with the research and studies on music by Hermann von Helmholtz, Erich von Hornbostel and Hugo Riemann. These were the authors whose work had the most significant impact on Weber's understanding of music, although they were not the only ones. However, their influence was unequivocal, which is testified by Weber's own analysis carried out in the study of music, and confirmed by the authors who have studied these aspects of Weber's opus. Weber was, importantly, certainly familiar with most papers in the discipline of music, for example, the works of the pioneer ethnomusicologist Carl Stumpf and the pioneer musicologist Guido Adler. Braun and Finscher, 'Einleitung', 55.

[4] Edith Weiller, *Max Weber und die literarische Moderne: ambivalente Begegnungen zweier Kulturen* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1994).

[5] For instance, Weber enjoyed performances of Richard Strauss's *Salome*, Ludwig van Beethoven's Sonatas for violoncello Op. 5 and Op. 102, as well as Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro*. Braun and Finscher, 'Einleitung', 23–55.

[6] Ibid. 23.

the very theory is not that exceptional when discussed in the context of nineteenth-century discourses on music; it is quite similar to most known interpretations of music in the nineteenth century, as will be elucidated later. I will also point out certain similarities between Nietzsche's and Weber's theories that were partly due to the direct impact of Nietzsche's work on Weber's, and partly just the consequence of the context in which Weber lived and worked.

I will discuss the following issues: I will firstly present the characteristics of Weber's theory; then I will point out the problems of the Nietzsche-Weber relation; and, finally, I will highlight the ways in which Weber's theory may be considered as having been imbued with the discourse on nineteenth-century music aesthetics. I will specifically stress the importance of the concept of 'spirit' in this context.

Furthermore, I would like to elucidate my theoretical position in this discussion. Having in mind the mentioned, I will analyse the concepts of rationalisation and spirit, as well as the parallel between ancient Greece and nineteenth-century Germany, with reference to the symptom of imperialism in discourses on music. Namely, my starting point will be the concept of cultural imperialism as understood in postcolonial theory – it is defined as a theoretical discourse of promotion, differentiation, distinction and domination of one culture over others.[7] I will, moreover, draw on the concept of discourse as defined by Michel Foucault as well as many postcolonial writers. Therefore, Weber's discourse will be analysed as a way of producing power through the promulgation of Western domination in knowledge.[8] I will hence argue that Weber's thesis on rationalised music, being ingenious and utmost technical brilliance, is nevertheless an example of cultural imperialism in contemporaneous discourse on music–imperialism. This was also manifested through the comparison of ancient Greek and contemporary German music, which, in Weber's case, led to the conclusion that only German music was totally rationalised, unlike ancient Greek music.[9]

2. Characteristics of Weber's Theory: Rationalisation and Spirit

At the heart of Weber's theory (both his general sociological theory and the theory on music) lies the concept of rationalisation. Weber considered the Western society to be characteristic for its tendency towards extreme rationalisation, which made it fundamentally divergent in comparison to other societies. Being defined as a process of progressive intellectualisation, rationalisation seems to be ubiquitous in all aspects of social life: in economics, law, religion, art.[10]

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[7] John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction* (London: Continuum, 2001).
[8] Alastair Williams, *Constructing Musicology* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).
[9] In spite of the fact that Weber's theory shows resemblance with other contemporary theories on music, the concept of rationalisation makes his theory exceptional compared to other theories of that time.
[10] Richard Swedberg and Ola Agevall, *The Max Weber Dictionary: Key Words and Central Concepts* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 310.

Moreover, for Weber rationalisation was most obvious in music. His theory in the *Musikstudie* can be summed up as an attempt to probe the inner logic of tonal relationships, the paths of rationalisation inherent in the tonal material.[11] The 'rationalisation thesis' was applied to all music components (melody, harmony, scale systems, instruments' technology). Weber opined that rationalisation in music was evident, on one hand, in composers' dealing with the ever-increasing complexity of musical agents (that led to the richness of both human action and musical language) and, on the other, in fights against certain irrational threats such as social institutions and human beliefs. These irrational threats, according to Weber, could slow down or stop the development of musical genius.[12]

Weber was adamant that 'goal-rational' progress in music emerged in the course of finding solutions to technical (namely compositional) problems. The rationalisation process unfolded in six steps, starting with the organisation of intervals and finishing with the equal temperament of the tonal system.[13] The first step of the process was the division of octave into fifths and fourths. The second one was the discovery of the thirds and sixths, which, according to Weber, led to the next relevant improvement – the construction of chords. Chords, Weber opined, appeared when composers realised how to combine thirds (since a chord is made from two thirds). This, furthermore, led to the emergence of two-dimensional aspects in music, meaning both horizontal (melodic) and vertical (harmonic). Weber recognised the fourth step of rationalisation in the formation of scales, that is, major-minor scales, the fifth one in making chords functional in a key, while the final step was the equal temperament of the tonal system. Having come to the equal temperament, music attained a mode of organisation according to the strict mathematical-acoustic relation of tones; for Weber this constituted a sort of control by the composers over all technical agents. This moment was a further incentive for music development, since it was the basic condition for the creation, performance and proper reception of musical works (that were gradually becoming increasingly more complex). At this point, according to Weber, music was imbued with a new impulse to continue its development.[14] Furthermore, 'rationalised' music meant the most 'developed', the most 'complex', and the 'highest form' of music (or, at least,

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[11] Lawrence A. Scaff, 'Life Contra Ratio: Music and Social Theory', *Sociological Theory*, 11/2 (1993), 234–240.

[12] Braun and Finscher (eds.), *Max Weber: Gesamtausgabe,* i/14: *Zur Musiksoziologie*, 145.

[13] The concepts of 'Technik' (technique) and rationalisation were closely related in Weber's theory. Weber understood technique (like many other thinkers of the time) as 'appliance of certain agencies in order to accomplish a goal' and as 'a way of making material goods'. Max Weber, 'Remarks on Technology and Culture', *Theory, Culture & Society,* 22/4 (August 2005), 25. It can be concluded that Weber used the concept of rationalisation to explain a complex development of technique in music. His analysis of rationalisation is sometimes referred to as 'technical rationalisation', which means finding solutions that brought about the invention of style. Lawrence A. Scaff, 'Weber on the Cultural Situation of the Modern Age', in Stephen Turner (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Weber* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 113.

[14] Having analysed the development of bureaucracy and its omnipresence in all aspects of social life, Weber came to the conclusion that this development was especially evident in the Roman Catholic Church. Namely, the bureaucratisation of the Church had been reflected in the equivalent process in music: the maintaining of some conventions that included strict rules in writing and performing music. Weber identified certain instances of this process in the standardisation of notation, performing ensembles, tone systems, compositional rules. Braun and Finscher (eds.), *Max Weber: Gesamtausgabe,* i/14: *Zur Musiksoziologie*, 145.

music that is technically completely evolved) that had ever been developed by human civilisation. Weber saw the peak of the rationalisation process in the 'great' works of German composers, starting with Johann Sebastian Bach and finishing with Richard Wagner.[15]

The mentioned component of Weber's theory refers mostly to the concept of rationalisation as a step-by-step progress of music. However, the remaining aspects reveal connections with the historical school of sociology and are correlated with the concept of spirit (*Geist*), characteristic of the German historicist school that was based on the premises of understanding (*verstehen*) and explanation in the social sciences.[16] Drawing on those premises, as well as on the contemporary music aesthetics that interpreted music as the most 'inner' (inward-looking) kind of art, Weber formed his own theory about the development of rationalised music in the civilised world (civilised being Western Europe, more specifically Germany, for which ancient Greece served as a model). Still, Weber deemed that ancient Greek music had been only partly rationalised.[17]

3. Nietzsche, Weber and German Music

The question of the relation between the theories of Friedrich Nietzsche and Max Weber, their comparison, as well as an analysis of the potential impact of Nietzsche's discourse on Weber, seems (at least initially) completely neglected, and it appears as if it is not even a particularly relevant problem in the history of sociological theory. Although in encyclopaedic textbooks one finds some sporadic references to Nietzsche's (or, more often, 'Nietzschean') concepts in certain aspects of Weber's sociological theory, effectively the relationship between Nietzsche and Weber remains scarcely discussed.

My interest in tracing possible influences of Nietzsche on Weber was in fact instigated by reading Weber's study on music, which seemed to be to a much greater extent associated with nineteenth-century philosophical and musicological discourses rather than with sociological ones. Weber was indeed familiar with the philosophical and aesthetic traditions of his time, including the work of Friedrich Nietzsche.[18] Namely, the beginnings of the 'sociological reception of Nietzsche', or the formation of the 'Nietzschean paradigm', characterises a generation of thinkers (now known as 'classical' sociologists) who were active in the last decade of the nineteenth century, established sociology as a discipline in

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[15] Ibid. 199.

[16] Georg G. Iggers, 'Historicism: The History and Meaning of the Term', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 56/1 (Jan. 1995), 129–152.

[17] Braun and Finscher (eds.), *Max Weber: Gesamtausgabe,* i/14: *Zur Musiksoziologie*, 199.

[18] In addition to Weber's work on the sociology of music, his sociology of religion often contained references to certain of Nietzsche's (or 'Nietzschean') concepts that testify to the potential impact of Nietzsche on Weber. Max Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, 3 vols. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1988).

Germany and held teaching positions at German universities.[19] Bearing in mind the mentioned situation, I came to the conclusion that Nietzsche's influence on Weber is unambiguous, multifaceted and complex. Since an exhaustive examination of this influence goes beyond the scope of this paper, I will merely point out some of the key features that are relevant to the current discussion, fully aware that a complete and comprehensive research on this question is yet to be realised.

For Nietzsche ancient culture was the 'perfect' past, which should served as a model for the rebirth of culture in contemporary Germany. This statement was clearly put forward in *The Birth of Tragedy out of the Spirit of Music* (1872), in which Nietzsche presented his belief that the world of ancient Greeks could be realised anew in modern Germany.[20] However, the aspiration for such a rebirth was never fulfilled as far as Nietzsche was concerned. Nietzsche was deeply disappointed by the Bayreuth Festival, which turned out to be anything but the rebirth of ancient Dionysian ceremonies, as he had been hoping.[21]

Weber, however, did not deal with the very institution of Bayreuth; but he certainly shared with Nietzsche a deep appreciation for this cult and he stayed convinced that Wagner's art was 'the highest kind of art' of all at that time. He also believed in the Dionysian power of music, especially of music that was highly developed and complex, which is the reason he praised those religions that did not hinder the development of music but let music be expressed as much as possible in the rituals (for example, the pagan rituals in ancient Greece). This is one of the firmest connections to Nietzsche's reception of antiquity.[22]

Weber's direct reference to Nietzsche is evident in his writings on religion, where he analyses the ascetic and ecstatic (namely orgiastic) ideals in religion, which are clearly connected to Nietzsche's Apollonian/Dionysian dichotomy, in which Dionysus represents the connection between the power of music and religious ritual.[23] Evidently, Weber's studies on music and on religion complement each other. For instance, Weber analysed the specific ethics of given kinds of music, which was also done within the Nietzschean dichotomy between ascetic and orgiastic ideals. Namely, Weber points to the existence of relations between a specific ethic (which means a certain life style, cultural and social, as well as religious customs) and the corresponding music and specifically the tonal system. For example, the pentatonic scale is connected to the 'ethos' (as Weber named all the

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[19] Roger Häußling, *Nietzsche und die Soziologie. Zum Konstrukt des Übermenschen, zu dessen anti-soziologischen Implikationen und zur soziologischen Reaktion auf Nietzsches Denken* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2000).

[20] Friedrich Nietzsche, *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[21] Ana Petrov, 'Between the Ancient Greek Tragedy and Bayreuth Festival: Friedrich Nietzsche's Lost Dream for the (Re)birth of Tragedy', in Vesna Mikić et al. (eds.), *Between Nostalgia, Utopia, and Realities* (Belgrade: Department of Musicology, 2012), 179–186.

[22] Klaus Lichtblau, 'Max Webers Nietzsche-Rezeption in werkgeschichtlicher Betrachtung', in Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Wolfgang Schwentker (eds.), *Max Weber und das moderne Japan* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 499–518.

[23] Nietzsche, *Die Geburt der Tragödie*.

mentioned concepts within his sociology of religion) of an ascetic way of life as it does not involve chromatics. The author, furthermore, deals with the histories of scales in the West and concludes that the old modal scales 'did not like chromaticism' (or halftones, as he calls it).[24]

Weber had a specific interest in the musical and artistic ethos of ancient culture and religions, naming Greece and Rome as an example of total opposites. He stated that music and dance were not in accordance with the ethos of the Roman Empire, which was characterised by a noble ascetic ideal. This situation, according to Weber, did not lead to a proper development of the spirit of music and actually brought about the stagnation of Roman cultural development, as manifested in music, that was not productive for the society. Unlike Roman culture, ancient Greece had the cult of Dionysius, which led to a rich and intricate progress of music, manifested in dance by complex melodic and harmonic solutions. That is why Weber, in the footsteps of Nietzsche, praised this cult and stressed the importance of, as he called it, the 'gymnastic-musical progress of personality'.[25]

The mentioned problems are discussed both in the study on music and in the study on religion and the distinction between Greek and Roman culture was something that was intriguing for Weber. He concluded that the most refined music in the ancient world was present in the classical and Hellenic periods of the ancient Greek civilisation. Particularly relevant for Weber was the fact that Greek ethos was founded on the premises of a firm connection between music and politics.[26] Unlike Nietzsche, as I mentioned, Weber did not envisage the reconstruction of the ancient past in contemporary Germany. He found contemporary music to be the culmination of civilisation – only then (in nineteenth-century Germany) rationalisation came to its peak.

4. Conclusion: The Implications of Weber's Reception of Ancient Greece

In conclusion, I would like to point out the consequences of Weber's analysis and to address the question of the ways of construing Weber's discourse when dealing with his analysis of music. I would firstly like to stress that Weber promulgated the conviction that a unique style was created in Western Europe (meaning mostly in Germany) in the period starting with the Middle Ages, then moving on to the Renaissance and Baroque, and peaking with Romanticism. It was a style, Weber asserted, that could not have occurred elsewhere; it was a continual occidental progress, it existed neither in other parts of Western Europe, nor in other parts of Europe, let alone any other non-Western culture or historical period. Moreover, Weber analysed melodic, rhythmic and harmonic solutions, as well as instruments, all in order to glorify Western music. He construed Western music as more

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[24] Roberto Cipriani, *Sociology of Religion: An Historical Introduction* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 2000).

[25] Braun and Finscher (eds.), *Max Weber: Gesamtausgabe,* i/14: *Zur Musiksoziologie,* 165.

[26] Andrew Edgar, 'Weber, Nietzsche and Music', in Peter R. Sedgwick (ed.), *Nietszche. A Critical Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 84–103.

'developed', more 'rationalised' and, in his own words, the only one that was completely rationalised. Hence, it was superior to non-Western musics, that did not manage to reach that sort of complexity, and remained 'simple', or 'primitive' in musical expression. Even the peoples, Weber argued, that started the process of rationalisation (as ancient Greeks did), remained inferior to nineteenth-century Western – especially German – music and the works of Bach, Haydn, Mozart, and, of course, Wagner, who was the culmination of this process. Nowhere else did the major-minor system develop, Weber explained, and nowhere else did the complex harmony of extended tonality appear, as a result of the step-by-step development towards Wagner's harmony.[27]

Weber stated that the specific style which was a consequence of the complete rationalisation process could only have occurred in Western Europe. It is crucial to emphasise that it was highly relevant to Weber that the rationalisation process led to a certain 'peak', the 'highest point' in the development. Weber, thus, claimed that this step-by-step path represented a path of development, progress and evolution. Every new step (new solution) was more complex, developed and 'better' than the previous one. Finally, the author pronounced that the rationalisation path led to the creation of Western classical music as the most complex, the richest, the most developed kind of music in the world and of all times. It had the best content (meaning used components) and it was the only one capable of being written precisely (since Weber claimed that Western notation was very specific compared to others). This music was, furthermore, the only one that could be performed as precisely as possible thanks to its highly-developed system of notation and instruments. According to Weber, all the mentioned led to further development of the human ear and the human capability to enjoy and understand art.[28]

There is no doubt that Weber expressed or implied all of these statements in abundance. Rationalisation, combined with technology, was understood as the kernel of the West's special progressive path in world history, the path that led to the holy German art – the art that showed a certain continuity with the ancient music culture, but, was nevertheless more developed than its ancient counterpart.[29] Although Weber's unfinished study on music contains hardly any remarks on Wagner, the missing parts of Weber's discourse on Wagner were filled in with plenty personal documents, letters, notes, while there are also some pieces of information in the diary of Marianne Weber. It is thanks to these personal documents that we know that Weber considered Wagner a master sorcerer, one of the most important factors that enabled the Germans to accomplish such a major feat in modernity.[30]

Finally, I would like to elucidate the analysis of Weber's concept of rationalisation with reference to music as an imperialistic discourse and to examine recent readings of Weber

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[27] Braun and Finscher (eds.), *Max Weber: Gesamtausgabe,* i/14: *Zur Musiksoziologie*, 145.

[28] Ibid. 199.

[29] Celia Applegate, 'What Is German Music? Reflections on the Role of Art in the Creation of the Nation', *German Studies Review* (special issue: 'German Identity') (winter 1992), 21–32.

[30] David J. Chalcraft, 'Weber, Wagner and Thoughts of Death', *Sociology*, 27/3 (Aug. 1993), 433–449.

from the perspective of cultural nationalism. It is often concluded that Weber analysed music in two ways. On one level, music was an artefact of the historical rationalisation process that brought about the development of capitalism in the West. On another level, music was a deeply meaningful part of the German society's culture, with which Weber was personally involved.[31] Weber's personal passion for Wagner was, however, not surprising given the historical period in which he lived and thought on music: it was a time of Wagnerism and Wagner was regularly interpreted as the most important composer of the time.[32] Weber's passion for Wagner's operas, as well as for other German composers' works, can be construed as an indicator of cultural nationalism, since the author analysed many world musical systems using a comparative-historical method and still he managed to conclude that it was only German music that came to the peak of the whole human civilisation by being, as Weber argued, culturally superior to the others due to the complete process of rationalisation. It is, therefore, quite clear that Weber's study on music contains a certain kind of glorification of German culture. Yet this promulgation of German superiority was made implicit thanks to the concept of rationalisation, that for a long time was perceived as a value-free concept in classical sociological tradition. This, however, has been rethought in postmodern readings of Weber's concept of rationalisation, as well as in musicological examinations of imperialistic nineteenth-century discourses on music that were included in Weber's theory.[33]

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[31] Alan C. Turley, 'Max Weber and the Sociology of Music', *Sociological Forum*, 16/4 (2001), 633–653.

[32] David C. Large, William Weber, and Anne Dzamba Sessa (eds.), *Wagnerism in European Culture and Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).

[33] Andrew Zimmerman, 'Decolonizing Weber', *Postcolonial Studies*, 9/1 (2006), 53–79.

VI. ECHOS IN GREEK FOLK MUSIC

Zeus Performed: Greek Mytho-Musicologies

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ABSTRACT: Cretan-born Zeus has been the inspiration of both traditional and artful compositions. According to Greek mythology, in order to conceal the cries of the new-born Zeus – so as his father Kronos not to find and thus devour him – the ancient inhabitants of Crete conducted a vivacious dance, still performed in the village of Anogeia, on the Mount Ida area. *Mandinades* (rhyming couplets) performances devoted to Zeus accompany such music and dance rites, raising monuments in history and memory and building what Cretan identity is. Stemming from the same village, famous *lyra* (a three-stringed instrument and the trademark of Cretan music) player Psarantōnēs records in 1999 his album *Idaeon Antron*, dedicated to the cave were Zeus grew up.

Mēnas Alexiadēs's opera-cabaret *Ē arpagē tēs Ēnōmenēs Eurōpēs* (The Abduction of Europa United) (which was first performed in Athens in 2010) draws on the ancient Greek myth related to Zeus' coupling with young Princess Europa under the evergreen plane tree in south Crete. Along with traditional music elements, it musically combines songs in tango, Latin and other 'ethnic' rhythms, all in rhyming verses, satirising the current European socio-economical issues. Rock musician Miltos Paschalidēs entitled his last album *Xenios* (2010) and devoted the homonymous track to aforementioned Psarantōnēs, whereas in her disc *Anamkhara* (2009), Kelly Thoma, a Ross Daly student, performs on her *lyra* sympathetically (that is, also using the instrument's sympathetic chords) a composition called 'Giouhtas', alluding, of course, to the mountain Juktas where the tomb of Zeus is.

All of the aforementioned underline the significance of history for the Greeks as well as their strong connection to a place, the island of Crete. Mythologies surrounding Zeus are being reborn to show the concrete links between past and present through chronological continuity, preserving one's tradition. All in all, such performances function ecopsychologically, creating a strong sense of place and belonging.

Memoryscapes

Mountains are 'tangible signs of ancient time in the landscape, perceived and identified with a revisited, living past',[1] topographical memory places,[2] namely sites evoking a sense of continuity, hybrid places 'compounded of life and death, of the temporal and the eternal, endless rounds of the collective and the individual, the prosaic and the sacred'.[3] They stop the flow of time and inhibit forgetting,[4] resulting in a 'mountain theology'[5] which exists in the protracted endurance or resurrection of myth and history, language and text.

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[1] Alain Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past* (New York: Abrams, 1997), 18.
[2] Pierre Nora, 'General Introduction: Between Memory and History', in Pierre Nora and Lawrence Kritzman (eds.), *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, i: *Conflicts and Divisions,* trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 18.
[3] Ibid. 15, 18.
[4] Veronica della Dora, 'Mountains and Memory: Embodied Visions of Ancient Peaks in the Nineteenth-century Aegean', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 33/2 (April 2008), 220.

Tall and stable mountains that have been part of the Cretan civilisation since antiquity are associated with local values. Such high mountains are considered spaces of isolation and ramparts of freedom. Their inaccessible land and physical isolation offered protection and a place where, during various uprisings, military equipment could be stored.

Mere looking at such mountains inspired and still reinforces on Cretans power during hardship.[6] For instance, an invocation of Mount Ida, Psiloritis, stands for strength, endurance, honor and pride. Because that mountain has served as a stronghold of revolution, it is perceived as the soul of Crete. It is the tallest mountain on that Greek island, the place where, according to mythology, Zeus was born alongside with music and dance.

Kourētes

Cretans are mentioned in Homer,[7] Hesiod and Euripides as dancers, whereas their mythical role has been much enlarged by later classical writers such as Plato and Apollonius of Rhodes. Greek mythology sets the birth of music and dance in Crete. For example, it is believed that Theseus, while coming back from Crete, performed with his colleagues a dance that resembled the turns and the curves of a labyrinth.

Another popular myth on the island of Crete says that, in order to conceal the cries of baby Zeus, so as his father Kronos not to find and thus devour him, the ancient inhabitants of Crete, the *Kourētes*, performed a vivacious, leaping dance, the *Anōgeianos pēdēchtos* (leaping dance from Anogeia), still performed at the historic village of Anogeia that is located at the foot of mountain Psiloritis.[8] Rhyming couplet performances, *mandinades*, namely improvised, fifteen-syllable (in iambic meter) proverbial, rhyming distichs, devoted to Zeus accompany such music and dance rites, raising monuments in history and memory while simultaneously shaping what 'being from Crete' is.[9]

In Crete, such performance of rhyming couplets is integral to the principal musical repertoire for feasts and celebrations in villages, parties of a communal type, above all engagements, marriages and baptisms, but also for simple banquets, family and friendly gatherings.[10] In all cases, poetry is orally delivered and performed by many people from

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[5] Diane Kelsey McColley speaks of 'mountain theology' in *Poetry and Ecology in the Age of Milton and Marvell* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 62.

[6] Oliver Rackham and Jennifer Moody, *The Making of the Cretan Landscape* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 275.

[7] Significant is the description of Achilles' shield in the *Iliad* when Homer, amongst others, remarks that the labyrinth was Ariadne's ceremonial dancing ground, 'a dancing-floor where young men and women were performing' (19.721–727).

[8] Maria Chnarakē, '"Zei o vasilias Dias?" Choreutikes mythomousikologies stēn oreinē Krētē' ('Is King Zeus Alive?' Dance Mythomusicologies in the Mountainous Crete), *Archaiologia & Technes*, 92 (September 2004), 68–75. The article is available online at: <http://www.archaiologia.gr/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/92-11.pdf>.

[9] Maria Hnaraki, *Cretan Music: Unraveling Ariadne's Thread* (Athens: Kerkyra Publications, 2007), 94.

[10] Venla Sykäri's 2011 study is thoroughly informative on both the performative and the compositional aspects of that Cretan poetic form. See Venla Sykäri, *Words as Events: Cretan Mantinádes in Performance and Composition* (Studia Fennica Folkloristica 18; Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2011).

memory. It forms the main means of common entertainment as all members of the community participate in those festivities, that prove ideal for communal communication, which is 'symbolically born in performance'.[11]

Herzfeld examines the 'ownership' of history in his case study of the Cretan town of Rethymno in relation to what he calls 'social' and 'monumental' time.[12] Following a similar path, several Cretan music scholars trace in local dances elements of a 'glorious' Greek past.[13] Revolts are oftentimes the main theme of performances which glorify the strongly ingrained Cretan ideal of gallant living and dying. Song lyrics that accompany such dances describe and refer to various Cretan landscapes surrounded by mythologies and histories, ancient and modern and, as a result, their stories function both ideologically and ideally.

'Zeus or Hymn to Psiloritis': Psarantōnēs

Coming from that village, Antonis Xylouris – better known as Psarantōnēs –[14] records in 1999 his album *Idaeon Antron*, dedicated to the cave where Zeus grew up. A specific song from that work, track no. 6, a dragging Cretan dance called *syrtos*, is titled 'Zeus (A hymn to Mount Psiloritis)'. Psarantōnēs's vocal timbre, raw and earthy, and his *lyra* playing – accompanied by percussive rhythms on a clay pot and the Cretan *laouto* (lute) – embody his unique approach, which alludes to the roughness of the landscape of his 'native' foothills of legendary Mount Ida. The lyrics of the song, in the traditional *mandinades* form, simply witness how the snow never melts on the top of Psiloritis and how Zeus was a shepherd with a house in Anogeia.

Psarantōnēs was born in 1942, in Anogeia. He first picked up the *lyra* – a three-stringed instrument and the trademark of Cretan music – at the age of 13, and within one month he played at the first wedding he attended. Brother of the famous Nikos Xylouris, or Psaronikos, in three years Psarantōnēs became one of the most renowned musicians in Crete due to his unique voice, which ranges 'from mellow whispers, to low singing, from cacophonous bellowing to an incomprehensible moaning', and his playing 'from simple to beautiful from wild to painful'.[15]

According to Psarantōnēs, Zeus met a shepherd who invited him to rest in his mountain home (*mitato*). He offered him fresh water, milk and cheese. In exchange for his hospitality, Zeus promised him a music instrument that would seduce animals, birds and humans.

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[11] Anna Caraveli, 'The Symbolic Village: *Community Born in Performance*', *Journal of American Folklore*, 98/389 (July–September 1985), 259–286.

[12] Michael Herzfeld, *A Place in History: Social and Monumental Time in a Cretan Town* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

[13] Geōrgios I. Chatzidakēs, *Krētikē mousikē: istoria, mousika systēmata, tragoudia kai choroi* (Cretan Music: History, Music Theory, Songs and Dances) (Athens: n.pub., 1958).

[14] It is customary for people in Anogeia to have a nickname. 'Psarantōnēs' stands for 'Fish-Antōnēs' and refers to the way his grandfather (Antōnēs) would run very fast and catch all of the Turks that were occupying Crete as if they were fish (*psaria*).

[15] Liner notes of the CD *I Reckon Réflexions* by Psarantonis (LYRA, ML 4903, 1998) <http://intotherhyth.blogspot.gr/2011/05/psarantonis-i-reckon.html> , accessed 15 February 2013.

Therefore, he took out of his hand-woven bag a turtle shell, animal skin, goat horns, intestine strings, and a bow with male goat hair, and constructed the *lyra*. As soon as the shepherd performed on it, he got enchanted by its sound, which he then spread to the rest of the island.[16]

When asked why he performs with closed eyes, Psarantōnēs, 'the cry of gods', responded how he travels to landscapes he loves in order to make his music beautiful and how nature is the god that also gives music to him.[17] For this particular composition, the artist was staring at Psiloritis from the cave Zeus was born in, and started quarreling with the mountain using his music instrument and voice. Psarantōnēs is known for arguing with Greek priests who ignore the presence of Zeus. If he is the essence of Crete indeed, perhaps the secret of his music talent simply resides in his glance toward the mountains, namely the heroic and playful eyes, without hope yet without fear, that dance with the tragic elements of life in both ecstasy and joy.[18]

Xenios: Miltos Paschalidēs

Art rock musician Miltos Paschalidēs entitled his most recent, seventh personal album *Xenios: ē Krētē entos mou* (Xenios: Crete Within Me) (2010) and devoted the homonymous track to Psarantōnēs. Paschalidēs was born in the town of Kalamata and grew up in Athens, where he attended school and also took guitar classes. He went to Crete to study mathematics and philosophy in 1986 and left the island in July 2003.

Xenios (namely hospitable) is an adjective for god Zeus, the patron of hospitality and strangers (*xenoi*). The song that was composed in eastern Crete during the summer of 2009 is dedicated to Psarantōnēs, whom Paschalidēs met by accident in spring 1993, on a central street in the capital of Crete, Heraklion. The composer explains how hard it is to speak of such a monumental musician, like Psarantōnēs. He remembers how Psarantōnēs recognised him as the musician outside Crete who incorporates Cretan elements in his music, and how this qualifies to being a Cretan as well, and concludes: 'Ο Ψαραντώνης είναι ο πιο πειστικός παραμυθάς που έχω γνωρίσει και ο μόνος που θα συγχωρούσε ο Δίας, αν ποτέ επέστρεφε στην Κρήτη' (Psarantōnēs is the most convincing story-teller I have ever met, the only one, in fact, Zeus would forgive, if he would ever return to Crete).[19]

Xenios imagines Zeus today, after 30 centuries, being exiled, alone, bored and forgotten, trying to find out how he could still contribute. The god who used to be a protector of hospitality is now a foreigner, with no thunder in his arms and no love, strolling around to

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[16] Lina Lagoudianakē, 'Psarantōnēs: ē lyra einai ē kardia tou anthrōpou, to organo tou Theou' (Psarantonis: The *Lyra* is Man's Heart, the Instrument of God), *Stigmes*, 20/115 (January–February 2011), 16–20.

[17] M. Hulot, 'Psarantōnēs!', *Lifo*, 24 May 2007 <http://www.lifo.gr/mag/features/78>, accessed 29 February 2012.

[18] Paraphrasing what Cretan-born writer Nikos Kazantzakis in his *Report to Greco* calls the 'Cretan glance', namely the syncretic view that dares to look at life and death nakedly. See Nikos Kazantzakis, *Report to Greco* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1965), 445.

[19] Liner notes of the CD *Xenios* by Miltos Paschalidēs (MINOS-EMI, 5099962808224, 2010).

find lost and old Minoan friends. While wandering in the capital of the island and waiting for Ariadne to show up, he also desires to walk on the mountains and the plains of Mount Ida where he grew up, sit on his throne at mountain Juktas, recall the old prophecy and watch for the second cataclysm speechless.

In other words, *Xenios* would be... *xenos*, namely, a foreigner in contemporary Crete. He would have not liked a capitalistic, 'getting rich' attitude combined with a lack of aesthetics when it comes to instruments and styles used in current music trends. His only redemption would be the sound of the authentic *lyra* players.[20] This is how and also why Paschalidēs filters within himself the traditional spirits, treating them in a mostly tender way, in critically Cretan terms.

The song rhymes but not in the *mandinades* form, its basic melody being on a *pyrrhic* (warlike) *Anōgeianos pēdēchtos* (leaping) dance with the following characteristic refrain in a 'classic', dragging *syrtos* rhythm from Chania: 'Κι είναι το μόνο που τον σώνει μια δοξαριά του Ψαραντώνη' (The only thing that saves him [Zeus] is a playing of the bow of the *lyra* by Psarantōnēs). The *lyra* performance, the drum (*daouli*) and the lute (*laouto*) along with vocals illustrate well how composer and singer Paschalidēs coexists in salutary spirits with the Cretan melodies, but also how, after all, he, himself, may be one of the most convincing, contemporary storytellers: the only one Zeus would forgive for the ecological, aesthetic and spiritual crimes committed on and against the island is Psarantōnēs, a symbol, according to Paschalidēs, of a Crete that still dreams, resists, creates and preserves pieces of its divine madness.

'Giouhtas': Kelly Thoma

In her disc *Anamkhara* (2010), which in Gaelic means 'friend of the soul', Kelly Thoma, a core member of Ross Daly's group *Labyrinth* for the past ten years, 'sympathetically' (that is, also using the instrument's sympathetic chords) performs on 'her' Cretan lyra, namely a soprano variation of this instrument, a composition called 'Giouhtas', alluding, of course, to the mountain Juktas, where the tomb of Zeus is located, one of the most significant summit sanctuaries of the Minoan period. That mountain was a place of worship in the early years of Christianity and the Byzantine era as well as during the Turkish period. During the Cretan revolution of 1897, it became a refuge for the rebels.

Another Cretan, not by birth but rather by soul, Kelly was born in 1978, in Piraeus. In 1995, she started studying *lyra* with Ross Daly (born in England by Irish parents, hence a non-Cretan by birthright, but Cretan by heart and soul) while traveling with him and his group, *Labyrinth*, participating in concerts in Europe, Asia, Australia and the USA with musicians from various traditions.[21] In this composition, Kelly is accompanied by Zohar

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[20] Natali Hatzēantōniou, 'Krētikos sto pneuma kai ochi sto gramma' (Cretan in Spirit, but not Literally), *Eleftherotypia*, 3 February 2010 <http://www.enet.gr/?i=news.el.article&id=128235>, accessed 29 February 2012.

[21] 'Kelly Thoma', <http://www.rossdaly.gr/en/projects/43-kelly-thoma>, accessed 29 February 2012.

Fresco (born in Israel to a Jewish family of Turkish origin) on the *tamburello*[22] and the *davul*[23] as well as Ross Daly on the *bendir*.[24] During our 12 May 2011 interview, she explained how Juktas is the mountain she particularly favours and daily faces from her village house in Archanes: 'From a north-west perspective, the Juktas mountain resembles the face of a man lying down, looking at the sky. It is said to be the head of Zeus who died and is buried there. The name of the mountain, which derives from a corrupted form of the Roman word "Jupiter," enhances this view'.

The music piece revolves around a basic phrase and is in the rhythm of the Cretan dragging dance *syrtos*. Kelly's performance reflects the rich experience which she has gained as part of her interaction with the *Labyrinth* through her collaborations with master musicians from various countries, while her composition reveals a rich imagination, a wise and mature balance between the indispensable discipline and austerity which characterise the traditions she has studied, and free creative expression: 'ελεύθερη δημιουργική έκφραση μακριά από δογματισμούς που είναι ζωτική ανάγκη κάθε νέου καλλιτέχνη' (creative expression free of dogmatic attitudes, which is a vital need of any young artist).[25] Through her music, her goal is to reach a meaning that 'pertains to the ultimate spiritual love, which elevates the soul to a new dimension'.[26]

The Abduction of Europa United: Mēnas Alexiadēs

Mēnas I. Alexiadēs's epic comic opera-cabaret in two acts *Ē arpagē tēs Ēnōmenēs Eurōpēs* (The Abduction of Europa United) (which was first performed in 2010 at the Music Wagon of the Train at Rouf Railway-Theatre in Athens) draws on the ancient Greek myth related to Zeus's coupling with young Princess Europa, which thus gave birth to the so-called 'European civilisation'. Along with traditional music elements, it also compositionally combines songs in tango, rumba, samba, Latin, as well as other ethnic and Greek mainland, island and urban-style tunes with jazz melodies and rhythms, all in rhyming verses, satirising the current European sociopolitical and economical issues.

Alexiadēs, associate professor of Music Theatre and Opera at the Department of Theatre Studies, University of Athens, holding degrees in law and musicology, studied piano, theory and composition in Greece as well as in Germany. Since 1984, most of his works have been commissioned, whereas many of his varicoloured compositions have been performed, broadcasted through TV and radio stations, and internationally awarded. Next to his compositional career stands a bright academic one, with several scholarly presentations,

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[22] Italian type of frame drum.

[23] Large thong-braced, double-headed cylindrical drum of Turkey and many other countries of the Middle East and South-eastern Europe.

[24] Large single-headed frame drum of North Africa.

[25] '*Anamkhara* apo tēn Kely Thōma' (*Anamkhara* by Kelly Thoma) <http://www.rossdaly.gr/el/news/99-kelly>, accessed 29 February 2012.

[26] Liner notes of the CD *Anamkhara* by Kelly Thoma (Aerakis Seistron Music, 2009).

publications as well as many administrative and educational positions at various music institutions.[27]

Five talented performers interpret all songs of *The Abduction*, which borrows elements from genres such as the comic opera, the variety show, the musical and the cabaret, playfully and lively directed by Tatiana Lygarē. Thanasēs Vlavianos in the role of Zeus the Olympian performs on the electric bass and the *baglama* (a long necked, plucked bowl-lute), Tina Giōtopoulou as Europe plays the recorder and the percussion, Euangelia Tsiara fulfils her role as the narrator via singing, percussion and castanets, Andreas Stergiou as Apollo performs on the guitar and the mandolin, while Andreas Stamatopoulos accompanies all the aforementioned performers on the piano.[28]

The program's cover by famous Greek cartoonist KYR is telling: A bull, whose horns are formed by the word 'USA', refers to the President of that superpower country, while blond Europe, 'The Old Lady', which alludes to the European Union, shouts 'GO HOME'. Brilliant not only as a composer but also as a verse-maker, Alexiadēs masterfully plays with the popular myth to talk about the contemporary struggles for energy sources, oil, natural gas, as well as the diplomatic relationships between the USA and the countries of the European Union. Even though neither the music rhythms nor the instruments are of Cretan origin, some of the inventive and imaginative lyrics do follow the aforementioned *mandinades* format, being purposefully simplistic and childish or sharp and politicised.

Even though, as the composer explains in the program notes, 'διατηρείται εδώ η τυπολογία και κυρίως τα ιδιωματικά χαρακτηριστικά της παραδοσιακής κωμικής όπερας όπως η μεταμφίεση, η πλάνη περί την ταυτότητα του προσώπου, τα επεισοδιακά ζευγαρώματα, η αναπάντεχη πλοκή' (the typology and primarily the idiomatic characteristics of the traditional comic opera – such as the disguise, the illusion about one's identity, the adventurous couplings and the unexpected plot – are maintained), we observe that the poetic text is not instrumented or sung as a classic opera buffa or a childish drama would, whereas predominant are the strophic songs and the performed prose. Similarly to how the ancient myth is bravely transformed into something more comic, the 'classic', variable music styles create a uniquely pluralistic music and intercultural amalgam defined, paradoxically, both by stylistic harmony and idiosyncratic autonomy.

Zeus Performed

All of the aforementioned compositions underline the significance of history for the Greeks as well as their strong connection to a place, the island of Crete. Mythologies surrounding Zeus are reborn through music and dance performances to show the concrete links between past and present through a chronological continuity, preserving one's tradition. Their stories

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[27] <http://www.theatre.uoa.gr/didaktiko-dynamiko/melh-dep/mhnas-i-ale3iadhs.html>, accessed 29 February 2012.
[28] 'Mousiko Vagoni. Ē arpagē tēs Ēnōmenēs Eurōpēs' (Music Wagon: The Abduction of United Europe) <http://totrenostorouf.gr/gr/music/europe>, accessed 29 February 2012.

remind us that history repeats itself and it is the past, therefore, one needs to look back before proceeding further. Greek myths are performed, underlying the existence, from antiquity to today, of a whole ritual, not merely poetic text or melody, something that enables their reincarnation into 'folk' or 'artistic' tragedies, with a 'catharsis' being the ultimate goal.[29]

'Zeuses performed' allow rare glimpses into the various trajectories that connect a charter myth, so to speak, with detailed references to toponyms and significant sites that mapped out the island of Crete 'as an arena that constitutes an integral part of local memory, identity, and morality'.[30] Timbres of instruments and voices construct and evoke place-based identities via embodying the roughness of the landscape, the 'native' foothills, in an attempt to be compared to an everlasting-resilient mountain or a Minotaur-beast hidden in a cave.[31]

Such references to the natural world are not only meant to reflect the fact that, traditionally, Cretans simply live in harmony with nature, but also to encourage them to do so. The aforementioned folk songs and dances do not look for a nostalgic revival or preservation of what Crete *is*, but rather assert a particular interpretation of Cretan identity that suggests ethical responsibilities entailed by living on that island.[32] If used properly, they are capable of teaching locals that, in order to shelter their identities, they should cultivate both a sense of place and ecological place awareness.[33]

Even though each composer draws on different music elements, all works create sound- and memory-scapes[34] that travel one to the island of Crete. They function ecopsychologically, creating a strong sense of place and belonging, which is not only physically and geographically, but also ideologically specified. Conclusively, this deeply felt sentiment, also defined as *topophilia*,[35] transforms those performed experiences into living communal memories, which constitute a rich source of knowledge and identity and profoundly speak for a poetics of Cretanhood.

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[29] See Margaret Alexiou's enlightening chapter: Margaret Alexiou, 'Myth in Song', in *After Antiquity: Greek Language, Myth, and Metaphor* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), 189–210.

[30] Nassos Papalexandrou, 'Constructed Landscapes: Visual Cultures of Violent Contact', *Stanford Journal of Archaeology*, 5 (2007), 169. The article is also available online at: <http://www.stanford.edu/dept/archaeology/journal/08Papalexandrou.pdf>.

[31] Maria Hnaraki, 'Big Fat Green Rhymes: Unfolding the Environmental Clue of Cretan Songs', *Papers in Ethnology and Anthropology*, 16/5 (2010), 99. The article is also available online at: <http://www.anthroserbia.org/Content/PDF/Articles/0dd5db429ebd4b76aac826e99b23ee9e.pdf>.

[32] Maria Hnaraki, 'Crete–Souls of Soil: Island Identity through Song', in Godfrey Baldacchino (ed.), *Island Songs* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2011), 180–182.

[33] Eric L. Ball, 'Guarding the Wild: Place, Tradition, Literature and the Environment in the Work of a Cretan Folk Poet', *Journal of American Folklore*, 119/473 (summer 2006), 294.

[34] According to Kay Kaufman Shelemay, 'soundscapes are musics that exist side by side in the lives and imaginations of so many people'. See Kay Kaufman Shelemay, *Soundscapes: Exploring Music in a Changing World* (New York: Norton, 2001), xiii-xv.

[35] This kind of deeply felt sentiment toward a place, defined by geographers as *topophilia*, is investigated thoroughly by Thomas Solomon in his Ph.D. dissertation 'Mountains of Song: Musical Constructions of Ecology, Place, and Identity in the Bolivian Andes' (University of Texas, Austin, 1997), where locals 'duel' landscapes and 'sing' places.

Cyclicity in Ecstatic Experience:
Neo-Platonic Philosophy and Modern Practice

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ABSTRACT: This paper deals with cyclicity in ecstatic experience. Cyclicity, meant as the quality of forming a circle through movement, plays a determining role in constituting rituals of collective ecstasy, such as the Dionysian rites. Analysing the musical structure of contemporary forms of ritualistic collective ecstasy – such as that of the *Anastenaria* rite – we find that cyclicity, as a structural element of ecstatic music, appears, in a clear or implied manner, in the form of insisting rhythmic-melodic repetition, or in the form of repetitive verse, verse parts, or even as the repetition of inserts that are not originally included in the verses.

In this paper, Hariklea Tsokani looks for the ontological foundation of the concept of cyclicity, based on the conceptual principles of Neo-Platonic philosophy. Haris Sarris examines the ways in which the technical musical and verse data of contemporary rituals (tonality, melody, rhythm, the songs' verse) serve the principle of cyclicity.

The phenomenon of ecstasy was often addressed by ancient Greeks. To describe it and to explain the appearance of this unusual and paradoxical behaviour coming from a civilised individual, they adopted the term *mania* (madness). Plato first discriminated in a systematic way between the mania that comes from God, and the mania that is related to a psychosomatic illness. In *Phaedrus*, Plato reports that there are two kinds of mania, the one caused by human weakness or illness, and the other caused by divine intervention.[1] The person that is possessed by the divine or *telestic* mania is subjected to a radical change in the condition of his consciousness; he is transposed to another genus.

Telestic mania, as Plato names Dionysian enthusiasm, can lead the possessed to a familiarisation with the divine genus. The *baccheia* (Bacchic revelry) plays an important role in this unusual experience. Proclus, the Neo-Platonic philosopher, defines the *baccheia* as the tireless and ceaseless enthusiastic dance movement around the Dionysus sanctuary, through which those who are possessed by the spirit of the god are perfected.[2]

This definition already asserts the idea of cyclicity. The followers of Dionysus dance around the god's sanctuary. The god himself, in honour of whom the resounding banquet takes place, stands at the centre of a circle. Analysis of available data – be it vase painting or textual references and comments – shows that the dominant form in Dionysian *choreia* (choral dance) is the circle. This is also attested by various images, in which the Maenads

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[1] Plato, *Phaedrus*, 265a9-11.
[2] Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Republic*, 1.181.26-27.

hold each other by the wrists and dance forming rings. Such imagery also indicates that even when the members of the Dionysian company break the collective cyclicity of their dance, they still arrange themselves in such a way so that their connections again form an image of cyclical rotation.

If we observe the images that Lillian B. Lawler collected in her book, images of Maenads, Satyrs, actors and lay people dancing (one in particular shows even Dionysus himself), we see that cyclicity emerges in every case.[3] Bending the waist, the hands and the elbows, twisting the wrists, and above all, bending one's head backwards, all these are moves that state that what is sought is to bend the upright position and transform the compact matter of the body into a versatile, spheric mass which can take innumerable forms through rhythmic movement.

The Dionysian company, even when they dance fragmented, do not seem to go against the principle of cyclicity. Indeed its agents, even when separated, define themselves as the centre of their movements, so as to dance allowing the body to rotate around its axis. Highlighted in a spectacular way in the dance of the Whirling Dervishes, this 'full rotation around the axis of the person' is, according to Rohde, familiar in the dance celebrations of antiquity. Antiquity's cyclical dances during the orgiastic rituals were strikingly 'frantic, whirling, headlong eddies'.[4]

What is the purpose of this ceaseless vortex of each of them around their axis, or of all of them around what they define as a sanctuary, either inhabited by god or by the instrument-playing musician? Jalal ad-Din Muhammad Balkhi (known as Rumi) (whose followers are the Mevlevi Order, who practice the dance) said that whoever knows the power of the cyclical dance inhabits God, because they know the way in which love kills.[5] This phrase encourages us to ponder upon the rapturing character of the orgiastic cyclical dance. In this phrase, the Persian poet refers to the strange alienation of the self from the I that takes place with ecstasy. Limitless love – which sometimes springs from the depths of human existence and has as its object that which supersedes it, the attraction to the divine, attraction to all that symbolises the absolutely undisturbed unity of the world, the universal Unit, the One, or the universal unity – seems to be the motive for this deliberate escape from the existing world via the ecstatic experience. It seems the believer seeks to know this infinitely desired unity while dancing in a circle and in communion with others. This is the way in which he attempts to temporarily abolish his sensory self, to abolish the usual way of perceiving reality, and to live, as long as the dance lasts, above and beyond the limits of his consciousness.

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[3] Lillian B. Lawler, *The Dance in Ancient Greece* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1978).
[4] Erwin Rohde, *Psyche: The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Greeks*, trans. W. B. Hillis (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1925; repr. Chicago: Ares, 1987), 257, 269.
[5] Walter Schubart, *Thrēskeia kai Erōs* (Religion and Eros), trans. M. Z. Kopidakēs – A. Sklēlrē (Athens: Olkos, 2003), 148**.**

This unearthly dancing effort is aided by music, which decisively contributes to the accomplishment of this transcendental experience. Thus, when we hear the melodic flute playing incessantly in the centre of the circle, transforming the dancing rhythm to something 'θαλερό και καθαρό' (vigorous and clear),[6] the dance, with its rhythmic energy, vibrates the soul to such an extent, so as to make it willing to exit itself and to link with a foreign existence.[7]

The ecstasy accomplished in this way signifies only a temporary sensory 'death'. Yet it also testifies a kind of animating, as Panagēs Lekatsas attested. And that is because through ecstasy one attains an amplified, transcendental energy, which saturates their whole body and dissolves in it. This is the moment in which the individualised expression of the life of the soul, the vitality of the soul, is expressed impersonally, that is, in a universal way.[8]

Thus, ecstasy aims to awaken a numb energy 'material' within the human, which seems to come forth because of the whirling of the cyclical movement of the dance, as if starting to 'operate' and being 'enlivened', causing a kind of energy fever in the person.

If we suppose that the orgiastic dance around the altar of Dionysus, the *baccheia*, corresponds to dancing the way it is described by the Neo-Platonic Proclus, that is, a manic cyclical movement around the sanctuary, then this collectively organised dancing movement could be related with the idea about creation that the Neo-Platonic philosophers had. Namely, one could discern in this orgiastic dancing movement the archetype form of the conceptual creation of the universe, as well as man's attempt to supersede in a ritualistic way the temporal, material creation*:* the kind of creation that follows the linear course of the birth of beings via matter. At the same time, though, cyclical movement could also be seen symbolically as a gesture of rebirth – as an attempt of those beings who live the loneliness of individuality in the world of the senses to connect with the Whole, to return to their initial lack of form that resides in the unitary, to be reborn in their previous condition. From this point of view, we can say that any orgiastic dance of a similar type – and not just the Dionysian circular dance – seems to refer to the prototype of the creation of a circular universe, the way it was envisioned by the Platonic and Neo-Platonic minds.

The question that becomes inevitable at this point is why is it that the invisible cosmos, as well as its ritualistic image, should have the form of a circle, or the status of the sphere. The ancients consider the circle the one perfect and all-inclusive form. As a geometrical shape, it captures the image of perfection because it cannot be augmented, as opposed to the straight line, which is incomplete, as it can be extended ad infinitum. Besides, the fact

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[6] Evangelos Moutsopoulos, *Ē mousikē sto ergo tou Platōnos* (Music in Plato's Work), trans. Nikos Tagkoulēs (Athens: Syllogos pros diadosin ofelimōn bibliōn, 2010), 181, 167–192.

[7] Schubart, 147. During the cyclical dance, the person is alienated from his 'personal' idiosyncracies, from the individual rhythm of his existence. Just as the dance of the Dervish helps the whirling dancer to 'become one with god', Schubart noted, thus David's dance 'in front of the sacred ark, where the ten commandments are kept, is considered by mystics as an endeavour to alienate oneself in a mystical way, from the I'.

[8] Panagēs Lekatsas, *Ē psychē: Ē idea tēs psychēs kai tēs athanasias tēs kai ta ethima tou thanatou* (The Soul: The Idea of the Soul and of its Immortality, and the Death Customs) (Athens: Kastaniotis, 2000), 15.

that the end of the circle movement is the same as its beginning, endows the cyclical movement with an eternal meaning. For this reason, any being that moves in circles, seems to remain unchanged, symmetrical, ordered, smooth and simple, as Proclus observed.

So behind the Neo-Platonic view that the universe moves in circles, lies the Platonic idea of a never-ending rotary movement of all the elements that whirl and recycle, in the sphere of the cosmos, around a coherent centre. As the sphere is the most concise of all forms,[9] the circle's symbolism helps us conceive the ontological content of divinity. The divine never exits its unity, and divinity gathers within its spherical dominion the multitude of its creations. Thus the sphere includes all conceptual elements, and the material world can be conceived as a creation in the likeness of the ideal world. The beauty of this model world can mainly be found in its shape, its simplicity, smoothness and symmetry.

Smoothness, simplicity and symmetry are fundamental concepts, linked with the meaning of cyclicity. They refer to the meaning of unity, as Aristotle noted. And we know that the search for unity is anticipated in every ecstatic endeavour. This is the union with the divine, or the dazzling, of a divine type, unity of Nature. Aristotle explained the way in which the above qualities of bodies contribute to the emergence of unity. Symmetry is smoothness, he attested, because it renders the many into one.[10] Also, what appears as one is not easily divisible.[11] The symmetric seems unified and more solid than the asymmetric, because it is concentrated on itself, it is more stable and at the same time more distinguishable than the asymmetric. These qualities are not merely found in the geometrical shape of the sphere; they are also met in the cyclical Dionysian dance, created by the dancers who whirl around the centre and are mobilised by melodic-rhythmic symmetries.

Geōrgios Vēzyēnos expressed a similar view about the circle in his study of Plotinus. Vēzyēnos summarised the philosophical thought after Herder pertaining to the symbolic content of forms, and he repeated almost all that we know about the circle and circular movement from the ancient Greek philosophers. Additionally, he noted that in the shape of the circle coexist perfect solidity and movement.[12] Thus he underlined the interweaving of curvature with rapid movement. The more curved a line is, the greater movement it expresses, and the opposite is true as well: the straighter a line is, the more stable and immovable it seems.

Proclus considered this type of cyclical movement as the only one that is appropriate for the *baccheia*. Because it is the simplest, 'ταχίστη και ἐλαχίστη' (the 'most rapid' and the 'most minute'), as he attested,[13] because it is based on the smallest possible metric

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[9] Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Republic*, 2.72-31.

[10] Aristotle *Problems*, 883a13 and 915b39-916a1.

[11] Ibid. 916a1-2 and 916a5-8.

[12] Geōrgios Vēzyēnos, *Ē filosofia tou kalou para Plōtinō* (The Philosophy of Good in Plotinus) (Athens: Armos, 1995), 83.

[13] Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Timeaus*, 2.74.28-75.2.

rhythm.[14] This is also the rhythm of the orgiastic, Corybant-like, frantic dance, which is structured on the small and fast neurotic movements of the ancient metric rhythm, of which Plutarch speaks in *On Love*.[15] We cannot be sure about the melody and the kind of rhythm with which the manically possessed agents of the Bacchic and similar rituals would exit from the feverish condition of ecstatic mania. We do not know, that is, the way in which those who took part in it would calm down and return sober to the worldly reality. Yet, both the rapid trochaic meter and some melodies of the flute that are full of passion and are played in a 'Phrygian mode', are considered by the ancient scholars the most appropriate means to develop religious enthusiasm in Dionysian rituals.[16]

The examination of the links of cyclical movement with the movement of the soul is of particular importance for understanding the significance of cyclicity in orgiastic performance. The movement of the soul, according to Plotinus, 'είναι μια κίνηση συναίσθησης, νόησης και βίωσης του εαυτού της, όχι προς τίποτα εξωτερικό ούτε προς κάπου αλλού, εφόσον η ψυχή πρέπει να περιβάλλει τα πάντα' (is a movement of perception, of understanding and of living itself, it is not a movement towards something outside itself or towards somewhere else, because the soul surrounds everything).[17] As it moves in circles, the soul returns to its beginnings and thus rethinks its movement. Thanks to the circular movement, the soul's energy fills the body that moves in a straight line, and thus it conserves what the body includes inside. So the soul makes the living organism a whole, as it surrounds it with its circular movement. If the soul stayed motionless, if it did not surround the body – whose life is movement – with the 'living' way of circular movement, the body would not be able to conserve the material elements that it involves within it.[18] So the work of the soul's movement is to encourage the body, to control the straight movement of the body so as to render it strong enough to move and at the same time remain stable.

Yet, because according to Plotinus it is not possible for the living body to move in circles – because even the 'non-material' fire moves in a straight line – it follows that when the body reaches its appropriate position in the cosmos, it stops moving.

This means that bodies remain immobile and in their rightful position, or they move in a straight line towards this position. The example of the fire lets us establish how it is that an element that reaches its limits, the limits of its territory, does not remain immobile like other bodies, but moves in circles. Plotinus attributed the fact that the movement of fire turns from straight to cyclical, to *providence*. If this was not so, if the fire had the tendency

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[14] Ibid. 2.75.2-5.

[15] Plutarch, *On Love*, 759a7-b2.

[16] According to Thrasybulos Georgiades, the choric rhythm initially referred to the un-reasonable feet that were called 'circling' (rhythms of the cyclical dance), and it was later used as a synonym of the trochee. See Thrasyvoulos Geōrgiadēs, *O ellēnikos rythmos: Mousikē, choros, stihos kai glōssa* (The Greek Rhythm: Music, Dance, Verse and Language), trans. Chara Lagopatē-Tompra (Athens: Armos, 2001), 170, 181.

[17] Plotinus, *Enneads*, 2.2.1.9-11.

[18] Ibid. 2.2.13-14.

to move straight when left to itself without anything else to devour, then the lack of space would dissolve it, it would destroy it. Thus, if it is not to dissolve and means to continue to burn, the fire transforms its straight movement into cyclical, whirling around itself, continuing to live within the only space at its disposal, since now 'τόπος της' (its space) 'είναι ο ίδιος ο εαυτός της' (is its very self).[19] Plotinus' observations give us the main instrument to interpret the phenomenon of the dancing ecstatic cyclical experience.

At any rate, ecstasy is *φυγή προς Θεόν* (phygē pros Theon = an escape towards the divine), that is, towards something that transcends the material human condition. In other words, it forms a kind of distancing from the body, a form of abandoning sensory life. Yet to distance oneself from sensory life also means to distance oneself from the kind of movement that supports the body: from the animal-like, straight movement and its implications. Accordingly, this view sees ecstasy as *extension*, in the words of Plotinus.[20] This is a simplification, a return from the straight line – or the crooked movement that distances the person from itself – to the simple, smooth and circular movement – that facilitates communication with the self and with the familiar centre: the point in which the chasm between the self and the cosmos seems to diminish and perhaps momentarily to close off. The perfect form of communication takes place where the spatial distance between the one who is on the periphery of the circle and the one who finds himself in the centre, is minimised. That is the point where both of them are linked in an irrefutable way through the two edges of the radius that begins at the centre and ends at the periphery.

Similarly, the dancer who finds himself at the circle's periphery, is linked with the player of the musical instrument, who is at the centre of the dance. The latter orchestrates the energy power that his musical instrument radiates towards all the points of the dancing circle. This cyclical dancing circumambulation, which creates the *άπλωσις* (*aplōsis*=extension), the identification of each of the dancers with the centre and of all of them with each other (through their coordination with the musician who is found at the centre), is what the cyclical Bacchic dance mimics. Whether collective or meant for one only, the *baccheia* dance is always a dance around a centre. The dancer moves around their axis and the dancing group moves around the musician at the centre with circular movements. Both the individual and the group of dancers converge towards the centre, although they do not touch that around which they rotate. The more the dancing vortex lasts, the more the centripetal power augments, making communication between the centre and the periphery active to the point of vertigo. In this case, ecstasy is the attainment of the maximum possible communication between the one standing at the periphery and whoever stands at the centre: the musical entity that encourages the whole dancing body. Thus the musician who dominates the centre of the cyclical dance becomes the symbol of an inexhaustible life, which radiates its form-giving movement towards all directions, while remaining still at its

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[19] Ibid. 2.2.1.30.
[20] Ibid. 2.2.1.9-11.

energy point. The life that springs from the centre of the circle as music lives, and at the same time rests, within the ceaseless rotation of the dance, just as the 'life' of a melody's tonality rests within the moving – and at the same time still, circular time – of the melodic movement which rotates around its tonic centre.

It follows from all this that the movement of the instrumental or voicing sound is no different than the movement of the soul. The voice directing the Dionysian dance, using the repetitive singing *euoi euan* (which sounds like 'evi evan', in Greek ευοί ευάν, meaning wishes for health) together with the use of the *aulos* (flute), which is played in the method of a recycling breath,[21] both highlight the element of cyclicity.

Cyclicity, related to the voice and the *aulos* – which is the instrument whose sound resembles most that of the human voice – is utilised in the orgiastic rites of ecstasy because it is rooted in the animal movement of breathing. According to Plato, one can recognise in the phenomenon of breathing the circular movement or the circular boost (*περίωσις, periōsis*).[22] The alternation of the internal warm air with the external cool air is a process taking place during breathing in and breathing out, and it is also cyclical and reversible. Thus, based on the phenomenon of breath, we can explain the quality of bodily movements, linking it with the harmonic or discordant quality of sounds. Plato observed that if the movements that are caused inside us are smooth, the sound coming out is harmonic, whereas in the opposite case it is discordant. The internal evenness of the movement of the soul is attained by imposing the external movements on the internal ones. If the external sounds are heavier, that is, if they have a slower movement than that of the internal soul tendencies and dispositions, then the external movement will be able to meet that which occurs in the soul only when the internal movement slows down, so as to have a velocity that is the same as that of the external musical movement. Melody awakens rhythm, and thus the body is also moved, until both the soul and the body are coordinated through the rhythm, and possess the movement that is offered to them from the outside.[23]

The sources that we have at our disposal certify that during the ancient ecstatic rituals, mystics would surround the initiate with a humming around him, using the sounds of the flute. The initiate would enter the centre of the cyclical dance as if he was entering a baptismal font of sounds, and when he would come out of it he would be cleansed. The sound space of the ancient Greek orgiastic ritual is formed thanks to the flute, according to the ideal shape of the sphere. Being inside the orgiastic circle, the initiate seems to have

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[21] We are talking here about the kind of 'incessant' breath that is considered to be of Arab origin. It seems that ancient Greeks reclaimed the astounding accomplishment of the Arabs to be able to play the flute for hours, breathing only through the nose, and thus without interrupting the flow of the sound – thus transmitting the flute-player's enthusiasm to his listeners. Martin Litchfield West, *Ancient Greek Music* (2nd edn., Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 106.

[22] Plato, *Timaeus*, 80b7. Here Plato differentiates himself from Democritus. Although he borrows the example of the magnets from him in order to explain the phenomenon of enthusiasm, he nevertheless rejects the idea that the power of attraction is a result of the void that exists between bodies that have a composition similar to the magnets as far as their atoms are concerned.

[23] Ibid. 80a-c.

been transferred inside the internal liquid circular surface of the flute, and to be whirling with a power and speed that is analogous to that with which the breath of the flute-player is being launched in the cylinder. The usefulness of the rhythmic movement – which comes as a result of the melodic one – is evident here.

Lastly, it is worth noting, with reference to examples from the modern Greek tradition, a certain analogy between the cyclical type of the ancient dancer's ecstatic experience with that of the modern one. One of the most characteristic enthusiastic movements of the popular dancer, under the enthusiastic sound of the *tsabouna* bagpipe, the *gaida* bagpipe or the *clarino* (clarinet), is to bend 'with his back to the earth'[24] as though he wants to be relieved from its weight. Ecstasy means in this case exactly what the position of the dancer reveals. It is to return upwards, to open one's mind towards the cosmic community, to abandon the earthly nurturer. The enthusiastic soul not only of the ancient Bacchus, but also that of the contemporary manic popular dancer, seems to walk on fire, or, more accurately, to stand on fire (as in the case of the *Anastenaria*), possessed by the power of the divine mania. The soul is then free from the burden of its bodily matter, from the primitive land of its origin.

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The ecstatic phenomenon is not exclusive to antiquity but is also encountered in modern ceremonial rituals and customary dramas around the world. Thus, the following challenge arises: the theory on the paradoxical ecstatic phenomenon dates as far back as our remote historical past, for which we hold insufficient evidence, while the phenomenon itself takes place even to this day through music and dance practices that resemble those of ancient ceremonial rituals. So, the challenge of associating ancient thought on the ecstatic phenomenon with modern practice is great. We will investigate the degree to which a connection exists between the two by using an approach of systematic musicology, in other words, by examining the meaning of the term 'cyclicity' in connection with the individual parameters of the musical phenomenon, such as melody and rhythm.

If one were to examine the musical and dance structure of a modern ritual, such as the *Anastenaria* firewalking ceremony, s/he would discover the cyclicity phenomenon in every technical musical and dance parameter. We would liken such a complex ritual to a machine comprised of many gears, in this particular case the technical musical and dance parameters: melody, rhythm, motif and so on. Each of these 'gears' revolves around its axis. But simultaneously, each individual motion affects the movement of the rest. The overall movement of the 'machine' – that is, the ecstatic ritual – depends on the precise function of the 'gears'. In music theory, the notion of cyclicity is interlinked with the periodic repetition

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[24] Despoina Mazarakē, *To laiko klarino stēn Ellada* (The Popular Clarinet in Greece) (Athens: Kedros, 1984), 104.

of musical information: a melody, a rhythmical motif and so on. Characteristic of cyclicity is the return to the starting point, after the drawing of a full circle. But, let us see how cyclicity appears in the various musical parameters.

Regarding rhythm: Periodicity is a fundamental element, namely the repetition of a rhythmical pattern at regular intervals. Beyond the occasional variations and improvisations, there is always a basic rhythmical motif that is repeated. Thus, the sense of cyclicity is amplified through the continuous repetition of specific rhythmical patterns.

As regards melody: Cyclicity is achieved through the repetition of melodic motifs, which are repeated either unchanged or varied. There are two possibilities:

A. The melody is sung (that is, when it is set to lyrics). In this case, the sense of cyclicity wanes, since the lyrics are at centre stage and change during the melodic repetitions. This particular case is further elaborated below.

B. The melody is instrumental. In this case, the sense of cyclicity is stronger, as the melody is not the carrier of some special verbal meaning. Consequently, what predominates is, on the one hand, the succession of the notes and, on the other, the potentially impetuous musical content.

At this point, the following question arises: in what form specifically does each technical parameter favour the cyclical articulation of the melody (range, key, form and so on)?

1. With regards to the range of the melody, we observed the following: an expanded melody range offers potentially increased outlets for the weaving of complex melodic lines. In contrast, a limited melody range facilitates the frequent 'recycling' of the notes, and so, always potentially, facilitates cyclicity.

2. With regards to the articulation of the melody, there are two possibilities:
   a) the existence of melodic motifs and b) the non-motivic unfolding of a melody. In the first case, the unfolding of a musical section employs motifs (rudimentary melodic or rhythmic patterns) that are lined up, modified, developed, or alternate with one another. In the latter case, a melodic unfolding occurs without motifs, and thus the melodic line unravels throughout the entire span of a musical section. Thus, the primary motivic material is liquidated through free-form development and evolution, in other words, no characteristic motifs are distinctly discerned anymore.

   From our observations emerges that the presence of motifs amplifies the sense of cyclicity. We could say that the shortest a melody is, the greater the degree of cyclicity that may occur. This surfaces, at least from the analysis of the music heard at various rituals such as the *Anastenaria* or the *Beēs* carnival ritual in Thrace, as well as in the *syngathistos* leaping dance, which is usually played for ritual transitions.

3. With regards to the tonic: The sense of cyclicity can also be amplified by the movement, or lack thereof, of the tonic during the performance of a piece. We should make clear, at this point, that there are two kinds of tonics: a) on the one hand, we have the musical phrase tonics, related to the music modes that are being used (each mode has its own tonic, which is the most important note), and b) on the other, we have the musical instrument tonics. This is the rule for the old instruments, like the *gaida* bagpipe, the

zournas shawm, the *tsabouna* bagpipe, the *lira* fiddle, the *floiera* flute and so on, each instrument having a specific tonic. These tonics have, in part, also been passed on to the newer instruments, such as the clarinet and the violin, which, while replacing the older instruments, inherited part of the older instruments' repertoire and aesthetics.[25] While the new instruments can play equally well on many keys, they nonetheless make greater use of some keys, those that either sound better on this instrument, or the ones that have been handed down from the older instruments as fingerings – for example the fingering techniques of the *zournas* have been passed on to the clarinet.

We should note here that the tonic of a musical phrase is the reference point for that phrase, and also that the tonic of a musical instrument is a reference point for everything that this musical instrument plays, since it constitutes its principal sound. Thus, the sense of cyclicity is enhanced by the existence of such a reference note, which sounds like a ceaseless 'hammering'. This sense of cyclicity is more prominent in the case of instruments with drones, for instance the *gaida*, the *lira*, the *zournas* (where the second *zournas* acts as a drone) and many others, since the drones further accentuate the instrument's tonic. It is surely not by chance that these old instruments, featured in ritualistic dramas, have drones or even that they are played in pairs, where the second one acts as a drone.

Also, the technique of transposing the tonic note of a musical phrase, a fact extensively studied in the case of the *gaida*,[26] enhances the sense that the music moves cyclically. In an overwhelming percentage of the *gaida*'s repertoire, the musical phrases' tonic and the instrument's tonic coincide. When a phrase with a different tonic is played, we get the sense that a 'resolution' is required, which is subsequently given by the return of the tonic to its initial position. This transposition, achieved with a dexterous management of the sounds by the musician, also enhances the sense of cyclicity. This sense becomes even more intense when the tonic is transposed to a note that creates a hard dissonance with the instrument's tonic, for example to the second grade. Usually, this dissonance produces a kind of intensity in the dance, which in turn subsides with the tonic's restoration. In Example 1 we see the transposition of the tonic in three phases of a *zōnaradikos* line dance: A is the tonic in phrases A and C, and B is the tonic in phrase B.[27]

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[25] Haris Sarris, 'The Influence of the *Tsaboúna* Bagpipe on the *Lira* and Violin', *The Galpin Society Journal*, 60 (2007), 167–180.
[26] Haris Sarris, 'Ē gaida ston Evro: Mia organologikē ethnographia' (The *Gaida* Bagpipe in the Evros Region: An Organological Ethnography), Ph.D. diss. (University of Athens, 2007), 379.
[27] Played by Theodōros Kekes (Kyani village, Didymoteichon, Thrace), *gaida*. The phrases come from the recording Md074_6 of The Friends of Music Society. Music transcription: Haris Sarris.

Example 1. Transposition of the phrase's tonic that creates a hard dissonance
with the *gaida* bagpipe's tonic (*zōnaradikos* dance in Thrace)
(Reproduced by kind permission of The Friends of Music Society)

4. With regards to micro-structure: The term 'micro-structure' is herein used to describe the internal structure of a musical phrase. It is possible for the sense of cyclicity to be amplified with the use of expressive means in the form of rudimentary repeating motifs, with the recurrence of notes, of melodic shapes that bring forth one or more notes, and so on. These practices have been observed not only in certain kinds of music that accompany ritual dramas, but also in those belonging to the core of the abovementioned instruments' older repertoire.[28]

5. With regards to melodic rhythm: The frequency of change of the melody's notes is called melodic rhythm. Just as rhythm is characterised by periodicity – which, in its turn, favours cyclicity (see above) – so can melodic rhythm have periodicity and, by extension, enhance cyclicity. Cyclicity can be emphasised through melodic rhythm, for example through the rhythmical use of a low-pitch or a high-pitch note, which is not directly

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[28] Haris Sarris, Angelos Velegrakis, and Tassos Kolydas, 'Drawing a Parallel between the Gaida (Bagpipe) and the Zonarádikos Line Dance through Statistics', *Journal of Interdisciplinary Music Studies*, 4/2 (fall 2010), 121–142.

related to the melody, but whose auditory perception gives a rhythm in parallel. By and large, this phenomenon is employed in all the old instruments, such as the *tsabouna* and the *lira*,[29] as well as the *gaida*.[30]

6. With regards to form: Form, in our case, is defined as the way in which one or more musicians use their melodic material. Repetition is particularly important, as it concerns phrases and melodies which are either repeated or recur at various moments of a musical performance. The *parataxis* phenomenon is also crucial,[31] especially as regards the older core of the older instruments' dance repertoire. The musician becomes a kind of 'administrator' who uses the proper material for the appropriate occasion. His goal appears to be to 'uplift' or 'calm' the dancers and/or the performers. It is him that judges when the dancers need to become 'livelier' or when he should 'turn down' the intensity, depending on the needs of the festivities or the ritual, or, finally, when he should give more 'space' to the song. In short, the instrument player is the one keeping tabs on the ritual participants' pulse and offers his compositional technique at the service of the occasion.[32] The cases of the *Archianastenarēs* (Head-*Anastenarēs*), for example, or that of the *Prōtomeraklēs* (chief-aficionados) in the village of Olymbos on the island of Karpathos[33] are characteristic of such management of a festival's dynamic.

7. With regards to the alternation tempo of the phrases: In the case of the instrumental dance repertoire, cyclicity is accentuated by the regularity of musical phrases (if, for instance, we have a phrase change every two bars). This regularity reminds us, in a way, of the case of the instrument's tonic (see above), which remains a constant reference point throughout the piece. As we have seen above, the transposition of the tonic promotes cyclicity. The same can be said about the constantly alternating tempo of the phrases, which creates a strict regularity, that, even when momentarily disturbed, always returns to the established pattern. So, in that way, when one-bar repeating or non-repeating musical phrases trespass onto a musical environment characterised by the repetition of two-bar phrases, a kind of 'shock' is produced, resulting in the climax of the dance intensity, which is again eased with the restoration of two-bar phrases to the musical environment.

    In all the Greek ecstatic rituals instruments having a continuous sound are preferred. The sound must be uninterrupted, a fact that magnifies the sense of cyclicity. It is not by chance that in antiquity the *aulos* was used, instead of some type of plucked instrument

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[29] Haris Sarris, 'The Influence of the *Tsaboúna* Bagpipe on the *Lira* and Violin', 167–180.

[30] Haris Sarris, 'Ē gaida ston Evro: Mia organologikē ethnographia', 241–243.

[31] Haris Sarris, Tassos Kolydas, and Panagiotis Tzevelekos 'Parataxis: A Framework of Structure Analysis for Instrumental Folk Music', *Journal of Interdisciplinary Music Studies*, 4/1 (spring 2010), 71–90.

[32] Haris Sarris, Tassos Kolydas, and Michalis Kostakis, 'Investigating Instrumental Repertoire Following the Technique of Parataxis: A Case Study', *Journal of Interdisciplinary Music Studies*, 4/2 (fall 2010), 99–120.

[33] Pavlos Kavouras, 'Dance at Olymbos, Karpathos: Cultural Change and Political Confrontations', *Ethnographika*, 8 (1992), 173–190.

(there were no bow instruments in antiquity).[34] In our days, shawms are used (for example the *zournas*), as well as bagpipes and/or fiddles, since the bow is ideal for the production of continuous sound. In fact, bow instruments are fairly recent to the Greek territory and came to coexist and to collaborate with the older wind instruments.

8. With regards to song: The song is the result of the encounter between music and the poetic text; it is not simply the poetic text. Through their contact with the music, the sung lyrics acquire breaks, repetitions, bucklings, and refrains.[35] In that way, the lyrics create a framework of cyclicity, one through which the narrative word of the song 'flows'. During the dance, the antiphonal performance of the song (in which there are two teams of dancers alternatively repeating the song phrase by phrase) also brings cyclicity forth.[36] Speaking of the communicative dimension of the antiphonal performance, it is worth noting how, for the participants, the meaning of the lyrics is weakened through the almost mechanical reproduction of the music and the song, a weakening that contributes to the dancers' reaching exaltation. The cyclicity phenomenon also gets amplified through the successive alternation of the song with the instrumental music. This occurs both with the interjection of instrumental introductions or instrumental parts that disrupt the flow of the lyrics, as well as with the interchange of song and instrumental music.

9. With regards to dance, generally, since bodily movements have a primary role, cyclicity seems to result from the periodic repetition of the dance steps, as well as from the dance moves and the dance poses, something even more obvious in the circular dance. The circular *syrtos* dance (line dance) indeed dominates the Greek tradition. The term *syrtos* is an ancient name used for traditional circular dances, according to an inscription from Boeotia, dating back to the first Century A.D.[37] This fact is of particular importance considering that the most significant Greek celebrations and ecstatic rituals are based on the circular dance. Stilpōn Kyriakidēs[38] also attests that the circular dance constitutes the 'womb' from which the new songs have been born, in an almost 'mechanical' way, based on the technique of repetition. On the basis of this observation, in her study on the ways of communicating within the circular dance songs,[39] Tsokanē notes that a consequence of the practice of producing and renewing the song during the dance procedure is the creation of a singing and dancing form – both on the micro-structure level, as well as on the macro-structure level – which is typified by a constant

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[34] Charikleia Tsokanē, *Ē kraugē tēs Medousas* (Medusa's Cry) (Athens: Aleksandreia, 2006), 121–186.

[35] Tsokanē has written about this practice. Charikleia Tsokanē, 'To tsakisma: Ena themeliōdes charaktiristiko stē morphē tou dēmotikou tragoudiou' (The *Tsakisma* (Buckling): A Fundamental Characteristic in the Demotic Songs' Form), *Polyphonia*, 12 (spring 2008), 42–43.

[36] Charikleia Tsokanē, 'Tropoi epikoinonias kai domē tōn ellenikōn choreftikōn tragoudiōn' (Manners of Communication and Structure of the Demotic Dance Songs), *Musicologia*, 5–6 (1987), 208–209.

[37] Thrasyvoulos Geōrgiadēs, *O ellēnikos rythmos*, 182.

[38] Stilpōn Kyriakidēs, *To dēmotiko tragoudi* (The Folk Song) (Athens: Hermes, 1978), 107–108.

[39] Charikleia Tsokanē, 'To tsakisma: Ena themeliōdes charaktēristiko stē morphē tou dēmotikou tragoudiou', 54–55.

palindromic movement. The palindrome – that is encountered, for the most part, in the lyrics and music of dance songs with the refrains, breaks, repetitions, bucklings and so on – matches the rearward movements of the dance steps, thus resulting in a complete synchronisation of all the elements of the dancing process.

Epilogue

This article attempted to interpret the circular way in which musical and dancing parameters of Dionysian rites are articulated. It also addressed some of the more modern ecstatic rituals that seem to have a lot in common with the Dionysian ones. We argued that the transcendental dimension of the enthusiastic-Dionysian rite is attained through the Bacchic dance, a dance which is cyclical in its structure and is supported by vocal and instrumental music. This music abides by the rule of cyclicity too, leading the dancers/mystics to ecstasy. The melodic music, the wind instruments (flute, *klarino*, *tsabouna* and so on) together with the singing voice, are the most important 'instruments of the soul's metastasis', this 'flight towards God', which takes place, at least for the few initiates, through the orgiastic rites of the ancient and modern Greek tradition. At the same time, we attempted to present the way in which cyclicity governs some of the technical parameters of the music heard in ecstatic rituals, using the tools of systematic musicological analysis. We wished to illuminate the most important musical components and parameters, the ones that lead the performers to ecstasy, as if they were the 'gears' of a complex machine. The ecstatic ritual that develops in that way could be likened to the operation of a mechanism, with the 'revolving speed' of each of its 'gears' – both around its axis and as a multi-dimensional whole – being determined by cultural practices, the moments' dynamics as well as the directions given by each ritual's administrator.

VII. MODERN GREEK RECEPTIONS

The Promethean Myth as a Political Statement

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ABSTRACT: It is a fact that the main corpus of Alekos Xenos's output has been examined through the prism of his political identity. This is something that the composer himself would not have rejected, on the contrary he would have admitted its validity. Most of his work has been heavily influenced by his socialist–pacifist ideals, his belief in the power of the individual to change the world being certainly traceable. Xenos composed his symphonic poem *Prometheus* in 1959, and the work received attention after the award of the National Broadcasting Corporation Prize in 1962.

One of Xenos's main interests was to express the ideal of the common man's resistance in society and against all those that suppress his free will and thought. In this paper we intend to show how Xenos used Prometheus as a symbolic figure of freedom and resistance within the framework of his left ideology, and we will attempt to connect him to the historical context at the time of the work's composition. Furthermore, we will show how the above mentioned arguments are enhanced and supported through the compositional devices Xenos employed.

The first appearance of Prometheus is traced in Hesiod's *Theogony*, an eighth-century BC epic poem in which the origins and genealogies of Gods are presented.[1] There, Prometheus is named as the son of the Titan Iapetus and brother to Atlas, Menoetius and Epimetheus. His myth has been examined in a more intellectual way in a trilogy by Aeschylus entitled *Prometheia*, from which only *Prometheus Bound* exists as a whole. The other two works that this trilogy comprised are mentioned as *Prometheus Unbound* and *Prometheus the Fire-Bringer*, although only fragments exist.

Prometheus was an immortal that stood by Zeus during the War of the Titans and actually secured victory for the Olympian Gods.[2] He was a champion of mankind, known for his intelligence. Prometheus fashioned humans out of soil and water, therefore he became the creator of the human kind. He is the one who stole fire from Zeus and gave it to mortals. Zeus then punished both him and the human kind. Prometheus remained bound to a rock. A great eagle ate his liver every day, which nevertheless grew back because of his immortality, only to be eaten again the next day. The human kind got punished with the creation of Pandora by Hephaestus, after an order by Zeus. Pandora is the first woman that was sent to live with men, carrying a jar which contained 'evils, harsh pain and troublesome diseases which give men death'.[3] Unfortunately, when Pandora opened the lid all evils were released; only hope got trapped after the rushed sealing of the jar.

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[1] Hesiod, *Theogony; Works and Days; Shield*, ed. and trans. Apostolos N. Athanassakis (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983).

[2] Karl Kerenyi, *Ē mythologia tōn Ellēnōn* (The Mythology of the Greeks), trans. D. Stathopoulos (Athens: Estia, 1984), 198–211.

[3] Ibid. 207.

After many years of torment for Prometheus, the demi-god Hercules slew the eagle and freed him from his punishment. Prometheus reconciled with Zeus after offering his assistance by warning the father of Gods of his imminent downfall. The secret was this: Thetis the Nereid, whom Zeus wanted to take as a lover, was fated to bear a child greater than its father. Lying with her, then, would result in Zeus being overthrown, just as he overthrew his own father, Cronus. Prometheus decided to warn Zeus about Thetis. Zeus married her off to the mortal Peleas, the product of this union being indeed a son greater than the father, namely Achilles, Greek hero of the Trojan War. Consequently, Zeus reconciled with Prometheus.

Aeschylus' account of the Titan's myth has been treated more or less as a yardstick for perceptions of the hero, although *Prometheus Bound* deals equally with the two major characters of Zeus and Prometheus.[4] Zeus is portrayed as a despotic, harsh and cruel character, whereas Prometheus is juxtaposed to him as the great benefactor of humans. As Leon Golden mentions:

> These gifts which Prometheus lists in detail for us comprise the whole range of human arts and sciences. All of man's cultural and intellectual activity is based on the gifts of Prometheus. Prometheus, therefore, stands as a symbol of all cultural and intellectual achievement, of all, indeed, that is meant by the word 'civilization'.[5]

Therefore, Prometheus remained an everlasting, diachronic symbol and has been used as a model in different forms of art: literature, music, painting, and during different historical periods.

Prometheus was an important figure for the Romantic Movement; one can mention the homonymous poem by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, written sometime between 1772 and 1774 and officially published in 1789,[6] one of the most important poems of the *Sturm und Drang* movement. This poem was set to music by Schubert (1819)[7] and Hugo Wolf (1889)[8] among other composers. Moreover, in literature one can also look at Mary Shelley's novel *Frankenstein; or, the Modern Prometheus* (1818), Byron's poem *Prometheus* (1816) and Percy Bysshe Shelley's account of *Prometheus Unbound* in his romantic four-act lyrical drama (1820). One of the most interesting and comprehensive accounts on how a romantic artist looked upon the Prometheus character as a symbol is probably found in the preface of Percy Shelley's work:

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[4] See also Leon Golden, *In Praise of Prometheus: Humanism and Rationalism in Aeschylean Thought* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 100–113.

[5] Ibid. 110.

[6] I would like to thank Lorraine Byrne Bodley for all the valuable information she gave me concerning the first edition of this poem and other editions. The first unauthorised edition of this work was in 1785 with the final one appearing in 1789. The work appears in Erich Trunz (ed.), *Goethes Werke - Hamburger Ausgabe*, iv (Hamburg: Christian Wegner Verlag, 2005), 176–187.

[7] Lorraine Byrne Bodley, *Schubert's Goethe Settings* (London: Ashgate, 2003), 85.

[8] Gerard Mackworth-Young, 'Goethe's "Prometheus" and Its Settings by Schubert and Wolf', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 78 (1952), 53–65.

I have presumed to employ a similar license. The *Prometheus Bound* of Aeschylus supposed the reconciliation of Jupiter with his victim as the price of the disclosure of the danger threatened to his empire by the consummation of his marriage with Thetis. Thetis, according to this view of the subject, was given in marriage to Peleas, and Prometheus, by the permission of Jupiter, delivered from his captivity by Hercules. Had I framed my story on this model, I should have done no more than have attempted to restore the lost drama of Aeschylus; an ambition which, if my preference to this mode of treating the subject had incited me to cherish, the recollection of the high comparison such an attempt would challenge might well abate. But, in truth, I was averse from a catastrophe so feeble as that of reconciling the Champion with the Oppressor of mankind. The moral interest of the fable, which is so powerfully sustained by the sufferings and endurance of Prometheus, would be annihilated if we could conceive of him as unsaying his high language and quailing before his successful and perfidious adversary.[9]

In general, artists of that period saw Prometheus as the rebel who resisted all forms of institutional tyranny epitomised by Zeus.

Musical accounts of Prometheus are numerous and one can refer mainly to Beethoven's ballet *The Creatures of Prometheus* (1801), Franz Liszt's Symphonic Poem No. 5: *Prometheus* (1850), Alexander Scriabin's *Prometheus: The Poem of Fire* (1910) in which the newly established instrument of *clavier à lumières* was assigned a part, and Carl Orff's opera *Prometheus* (1968) based on Aeschylus' original text. Also, one should not forget about all the interesting incidental music that has been written for Aeschylus' play, music that could express ideological, philosophical and aesthetic sentiments. One such example is the music that Kōnstantinos Psachos composed for the Aeschylus play, which caused great debate at its time.[10]

By now, it should have become clear that the political symbolism is one of the primary lenses through which one could perceive the Promethean figure. Of course, one should not neglect the philosophical – and by extension political, in some cases – accounts of the Titan by such philosophers as Hegel, Marx, Herder, Nietzsche and others; philosophical accounts that are antithetical to each other in many points. Actually, the first ever attribution of political symbolism to the figure of Prometheus was the Prometheism movement in Poland, which derived from the nationalist and romantic idiosyncrasy of the nineteenth century. Just to have a brief idea about this movement I will mention that in 1904, Józef Piłsudski sent a memorandum to Japan stating that the non-Russian nations in the basins of the

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[9] Percy Shelley, *Prometheus Unbound* (London: C. and J. Ollier, 1820), vii–viii.

[10] On the debate see Anastasia Siōpsē, 'Ē Sophia Spanoudē scholiazei tē mousikē tou Kōnstantinou Psachou gia ton "Promēthea" (1932)' (Sophia Spanoudē Comments on the Music of Kōnstantinos Psachos for 'Prometheus'), *Mousikos logos*, 9 (December 2010), 133–136. Siōpsē examines the music's reception and the attack by the music critic Sophia Spanoudē, that even lead to a lawsuit against her by the composer. Siōpsē comments upon the conflict between Psachos and Spanoudē and presents the critical text of Spanoudē that caused all the agitation.

Caspian, Black and Baltic seas should free themselves from Russian tutelage.[11] Soon enough, many socialist political parties in countries such as Poland, Finland, Latvia and elsewhere embraced this ideology of freedom adapting it to their own political views. However, a few years later, and after the creation of the Soviet Union, some of these countries that were struggling for independence found themselves under the domination and influence of the Soviet State. Prometheism survived till just before the break of the Second World War. On 22 November 2007, at Tbilisi, Georgia, a statue of Prometheus was dedicated to Georgian-Polish friendship by Georgian President Mikheil Saakashvili and Polish President Lech Kaczyński.[12] Erected in the land where, according to the Greek myth, the Titan had been imprisoned and tortured by Zeus after stealing fire from Olympus and giving it to man, the statue celebrates the efforts of Poles and Georgians to achieve the independence of Georgia and of other peoples from the Russian Empire and its successor state, the Soviet Union. The semiology of the issue is clear.

Judging from the above-mentioned, one can establish a picture of the symbolic Promethean figure. However, our aim here is to focus on the political attributions of the artistic Prometheus, considered through the work in question by the Greek composer Alekos Xenos (1912–1995), and looking at it through the prism of ideologies that were growing at that time.

Xenos was a composer with clear ideological views. He was a member of the Greek Communist Party, into which he was introduced in the 1930s. In most of his works one can trace a general political ideal, a sentiment that can be deduced from his political thought, but also from his personal ideology and philosophy that expressed Socialism in its purest form. Xenos dedicated his life and art to constant resistance against any type of tyranny, doing so with dignity and ideological pureness. His philosophical credo is condensed in the following phrase deriving from his memoirs:

> Ήμουν ένας καλλιτέχνης και λαχταρούσα να εκφράσω με την τέχνη μου τα οράματα της ψυχής μου, τους παλμούς της εποχής μας, τους πόθους του εργαζόμενου λαού μας. Πόθους που εγώ από μικρός εργατάκος τους γνώριζα και συνέπασχα στη μιζέρια και την εκμετάλλευση που ασκούσε η εγωιστική, ατομικιστική αστική τάξη που μας κυβερνούσε.[13]

> I was an artist and, through my art, I longed to express the dreams of my soul, our time's beat, the desires of our working people. Desires that I had felt since I was a young worker and I had suffered all the misery and exploitation that the ruling egoistic, individualistic bourgeoisie was exercising.

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[11] Richard Woytak, 'The Promethean Movement in Interwar Poland', *East European Quarterly*, 18/3 (September 1984), 273–278.
[12] 'The Statue of Prometheus Unveiled' <http://www.tbilisi.gov.ge/index.php?lang_id=ENG&sec_id=344&info_id=3846>, accessed 1 March 2012.
[13] Athens, Benaki Museum, Alekos Xenos Archive, Autobiographia (Autobiography), 68. Used by kind permission of Alikē and Alkēs Xenos.

One of the most important periods of Xenos's life was the one when he joined the Resistance movement during the Axis occupation in Greece. By reading his memoirs, one clearly understands the deep wounds that this period left on him, mainly because of the outcome and all the turmoil that was caused after the 1944 liberation, but also the deep creative power that all the suffering has instilled in his works onwards. In fact, Xenos composed his first major work on the outbreak of the War.[14] During the years 1941–1944, Xenos joined EAM (National Liberation Front) and later on, he was named as cultural and musical commissar of ELAS (Hellenic People's Liberation Army).

The composer wrote his *Prometheus* between the years 1958 and 1959, submitting it to a compositional contest that was held by the Greek National Radio Corporation in 1962 and winning first prize for it. The work's premiere was given on 28 January 1963 by the Athens State Orchestra with Andreas Paridēs conducting. The work was finally published in 1975 by the Ministry of Culture and Sciences under the title *O Promētheas lyomenos* (Prometheus Unbound) in Greek and *Prometheus* in English, both appearing on the title page.[15] I strongly believe that the original title of the work was *Prometheus Unbound*, mainly for symbolic reasons. The Promethean figure that breaks free from his slavery seems to be a more suitable icon for someone with the ideological background of Xenos. Here, one should take into account the political situation in Greece at the time of composition, which was not ideal, although some shades of hope for left wing sympathisers seemed to appear. The Communist Party was still illegal (it had become illegal in 1947) and its members were already joining the newly-founded left political party EDA (United Democratic Left), which in 1958 managed to gather an impressive 24,4 per cent at general elections. Therefore, a result such as this one could have been responsible for the creation of such an optimistic and dynamic work as *Prometheus Unbound* was.

On this occasion, we will offer a hypothesis that has not been verified as yet, but I think that it is worth mentioning. In 1943, Nikos Kazantzakēs wrote a play titled *Prometheus*.[16] This was a trilogy (*Promētheas pyrophoros* (Prometheus the Fire-Bringer), *Promētheas desmōtēs* (Prometheus Bound), *Promētheas lyomenos* (Prometheus Unbound)) that was combined in one continuous play. This work was published as a whole as late as 1955, although parts of it had been published in previous years. Is there a chance that Xenos got inspired, or at least intrigued by the myth, after reading the Kazantzakēs play? There is no indication of this in any of the written sources by the composer. However, the ideological world of Kazantzakēs seems to be close to that of Xenos. As Kyriakē Petrakou mentions: 'Ο

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[14] Alexandros Charkiolakēs, 'Ē kallitechnikē kai antistasiakē drastēriotēta tou Alekou Xenou kata ta etē 1940–1944' (The Artistic and Resistance Activity of Alekos Xenos during the Years 1940–1944), *Eptanēsiaka fylla*, 26/1–2 (2006), 171–178.

[15] For a better account of these publications, see Eirēnē Krikē, 'Kratikes ekdoseis ergōn Ellēnōn synthetōn stē syllogē tēs Mousikēs Vivliothēkēs "Lilian Voudourē"' (State Editions of Greek Composers' Works in the Collection of the 'Lilian Voudouri' Music Library) <http://www.mmb.org.gr/page/default.asp?id=3660>, accessed 1 March 2012.

[16] Nikos Kazantzakēs, *Theatro A': Tragōdies se archaia themata* (Theatre I: Tragedies on Ancient Subjects) (Athens: Kazantzakis Publications, 1955; repr. 1998).

Καζαντζάκης δεν έπαυε να δηλώνει αριστερός αλλά οι σχέσεις του με το κομμουνιστικό κόμμα είναι πάντοτε τεταμένες […] Εγκατέλειψε τον όρο "μετακομμουνισμός" που ηχούσε κάπως ουτοπικά και από το 1946 μιλούσε πλέον για σοσιαλιστική δημοκρατία' (Kazantzakēs kept declaring he was leftist but his relationship with the communist party was always tense. […] He abandoned the term 'meta-communism' which sounded rather utopic and from 1946 onwards he spoke of socialist democracy).[17] Moreover, in the course of the play, Prometheus is mentioned as the 'Rebel' who fights against the despotic Zeus, and Hercules, who kills the eagle and frees Prometheus, says: 'και λευτεριά και γδίκηση σου φέρνω!' (I am bringing you freedom and revenge!),[18] probably an indirect allusion to the Resistance movement of that time. The Kazantzakēs play is full of symbolism and Nietzschean connotations, some of which must have been quite appealing to Xenos.

Returning to the musical work in question, one should observe that this is probably one of the first pieces by Xenos that totally breaks free from the idiom in which he had been composing during the first fifteen years of his career. The composer does not assign a specific key signature, deciding to use for the most part of the work a series of loosely-developed tetrachords, that sometimes even remain incomplete, and which are frequently enhanced by added chromaticism and changes of metre and tempo. However, the tetrachords do not always correspond to the ancient Greek tetrachords system.

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[17] Kyriakē Petrakou, *O Kazantzakēs kai to theatro* (Kazantzakis and the Theatre) (Athens: Militos, 2005), 392.
[18] Ibid. 385.

Example 1. Use of tetrachords, bb. 76–84
(Reproduced by kind permission of Alikē and Alkēs Xenos)

Interestingly, towards the end of the piece, especially in the strings section, whole-tone tetrachords are used not as a sequence but in a chord form and overlapping.

Example 2. Whole-tone tetrachords, bb. 628–634
(Reproduced by kind permission of Alikē and Alkēs Xenos)

Prometheus is a piece of extremities in terms of dynamics. The composer created a score full of climaxes and de-climaxes moving easily between the two. One reads in the short opening note by the composer: 'Σ' αυτή την σύνθεση, όπως και στ' άλλα του έργα, ακολουθεί τις ζωντανές παραδόσεις της εθνικής μουσικής' (In this composition, as in his other works, [the composer] is following the living traditions of national music).[19] Xenos was in constant search of a way to express his Hellenic sentiment that matched his ideological background, a sentiment that matched the patriotic element of the Greek leftist ideology of his time within which he grew. He chose to use the symbolic figure of Prometheus in order to achieve his goal: to proclaim that Resistance and Freedom can only be attained through the uprising against all those that make people suffer, and that this course of action is the appropriate one in order to achieve unity and peace. He remained faithful to his ideological romanticism, believing in a future that could become brighter. As he mentioned in the last paragraph of his autobiography:

Μετά τον *Προμηθέα* συνέθεσα τον *Σπάρτακο*, συμφωνικό ποίημα – μπαλέτο. Μέσα απ' αυτό εξέφραζα την πεποίθηση μου για την πραγματοποίηση του οράματος της Πολιτείας του Ήλιου. Την πίστη ότι παρά τις θυσίες οι αγώνες μας θα δικαιώνονταν. Και μαζί με τους άλλους λαούς θα βαδίσουμε σ' ένα ευτυχισμένο ειρηνικό μέλλον.[20]

After *Prometheus* I composed *Spartacus*, a symphonic poem-ballet. Through that I was expressing my belief in the realisation of the vision of creating an *Helios State*. The conviction that despite our sacrifices our efforts will be vindicated. And that we will march along with all other nations towards a blissful and peaceful future.

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[19] Alekos Xenos, *O Promētheas lyomenos* (Prometheus Unbound) (Athens: Ministry of Culture and Sciences, 1975), i.
[20] Xenos, Autobiographia, 72. Used by kind permission of Alikē and Alkēs Xenos.

The Opera *Amphitryon* by Georgios Sklavos: A First Musical Analysis

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ABSTRACT: The misfortunes of Amphitryon inspired great writers of the past. Sophocles was the first one to examine the tragic case of Amhitryon, nevertheless the specific document of his work has been lost. Other writers rendered a rather comic dimension to this myth. First of all, the inspired Roman comedian Plautus based his work upon the facetious side of the tale, and with the invention of the character of 'Sosia' posed the question of existence for the first time in Latin literature. Furthermore, Molière based a relevant comedy named Amphitryon upon the episode of Zeus and Alcmene, in 1688. A few years later (1690), John Dryden provided an adaptation of the myth, including significant new points, which refer to the character of Phaedra, and music by Henry Purcell. It is worthwhile mentioning that Heinrich von Kleist's *Amphitryon* has dominated the German theatrical scene since 1807. Giselher Klebe wrote his opera *Alcmene* on the aforementioned play in 1961.

This paper wishes to present a first musical analysis of a rare vocal score as well as its orchestral parts that were found in the Georgios Sklavos archive[1] held in the Athens Conservatoire:[2] the lyrical comedy *Amphitryon* written by Georgios Sklavos in 1954, as the composer states at the end of the manuscript of the vocal score, on a libretto by Stelios Sperantzas. Unfortunately, the full orchestral score of the work had not been found by the time this paper was published, since this is a composition of witty inspiration.

The Case of Amphitryon in Greek Mythology

In Greek mythology, Amphitryon was son of Alcaeus, king of Tiryns in Argolis, and Hipponome, and grandson of Perseus. He got married with Alcmene, Electryon's daughter. Unfortunately Amphitryon killed his father-in-law Electryon, king of Mycenae, and was eventually driven out by his uncle Sthenelus. Later on he took refuge in Thebes, along with Alcmene and managed to receive redemption from the guilt of blood by Creon, king of Thebes.

However Alcmene refused to sleep with her husband until he took revenge for the murder of her brothers, who were killed in a fight with Taphians (or Teleboans).[3] Then Amphitryon, having on his side Cephalus, king of Thoricus in Attica, Panopeus, king of Phocis, Heleios, son of Perseus and Creon himself, campaigned against Teleboans and defeated them.

In the meantime, Zeus appeared in Amphitryon's house, having taken the form of Amphitryon. He managed to seduce Alcmene and slept with her for three whole nights, or

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[1] Athens, Athens Conservatoire, Georgios Sklavos Archive, Georgios Sklavos, 'Amphitryon', Folders No: 513, 515, 516.

[2] I would like to thank Prof. Nikos Tsouchlos, President of the Music and Drama Society of the Athens Conservatoire, for providing the permission to publish the musical manuscripts in this paper.

[3] Nowadays the land of Taphions is the island called Meganissi, which is opposite the Akarnanian coast.

rather commanded the sun not to rise for two days in a row, to enjoy his love. On the next day, having returned from the campaign, the real Amphitryon could not accept Alcmene's attitude after several months of absence. He found that Alcmene was not surprised to see him. When he asked why, she said he had already visited her the night before and that he had already told her of his adventures. Listening to her explanations, he reasonably suspected his wife and blamed her for infidelity and decided to burn her alive. But Zeus quenched the fire by a torrential rain and Amphitryon was finally convinced of what had really happened, after the relevant assurances from the oracle Tiresias.

After nine months, Alcmene gave birth to Hercules and Iphicles. The former was son of Zeus (already as an infant in the crib he managed to strangle two serpents), while the latter of Amphitryon.

Amphitryon in Literature, Theatre, Opera and Cinema

The misfortunes of Amphitryon inspired great writers of the past.[4] Sophocles was the first one to examine the tragic case of Amphitryon, nevertheless the specific document of his work has been lost. Other writers rendered a rather comic dimension to this myth.

First of all, the inspired Roman comedian Plautus (*c.*254–184 BC) based his work upon the facetious side of the tale, and with the invention of the character of Sosia posed the question of existence for the first time in Latin literature. Plautus' *Amphitryon* kept on being performed during the Middle Ages, although its form was rather modified. It is the second ancient comedy – after Aristophanes' *Plutus* – to be translated into the English language.

During the sixteenth century, Plautus' play inspired several other theatrical works, such as three Spanish and two Italian ones, as well as a Portuguese comedy by Luís de Camões (1508–1568). In 1621 Plautus' version inspired a German provincial priest, Johannes Burmeister, who obliterated pagan elements presenting a Christianised version in his *M. A. Plauti Renati sive Sacri Mater-Virgo*.

In 1636 Jean Rotrou (1609–1650), having translated Plautus' work, produced the play *Les Deux Sosies*. The latter was a source of inspiration for Molière for his own, very successful, *Amphitryon,* in 1668. It was Molière's line 'Le véritable Amphitryon est l'Amphitryon où l'on dîne' (The true Amphitryon is the Amphitryon who gives dinner) that gave birth to the association of the name 'Amphitryon' to somebody who is a generous entertainer and a good host. The popularity of the work was such that two of the names of the characters became a part of the everyday French language. The word *Amphitryon* has therefore become the French word for *host*. Another character that had such an effect is 'Sosie', a part which was performed by Molière himself in the comedy's first production.[5] In the Greek

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language, the term *sosia* means identical, and in the long run it has grown to mean the same in French (*sosie*).

In 1690, John Dryden (1631–1700) provided an adaptation of the myth, including significant new points, which refer to the character of Phaedra and at the same time incidental music by Henry Purcell. In 1786, André Grétry (1741–1813), who is famous for his *opéras comiques*, composed the three-act opera *Amphitryon* on a libretto by Jean-Michel Sedaine, based on Molière's play.

It is worthwhile mentioning that Heinrich von Kleist's *Amphitryon* has dominated the German theatrical scene since 1807. Giselher Klebe (1925–2009) wrote his opera *Alkmene* on the aforementioned play in 1961. Furthermore other German writers who got involved with the specific subject are Georg Kaiser (1878–1945), with his posthumously published play *Zweimal Amphitryon* (Double Amphitryon, 1943), and Peter Hacks (1928–2003) with his *Amphitryon* (1967).

In 1929, Jean Giraudoux (1882–1944) wrote a play entitled *Amphitryon 38* based upon this subject. By the number 38, Giraudoux wishes to stress, in his own peculiar way, the number of times the story had been told on stage previously. Its adaptation into English was done by Samuel Nathan Behrman and was staged successfully on Broadway in 1938. Later on, Cole Porter wrote the musical *Out of This World* in 1950. Furthermore, in 1993, Jean-Luc Godard's film *Hélas pour moi* (Oh, Woe is Me) was inspired from this subject.

The Composer and the Librettist

Georgios Sklavos (1886–1976) was one of the main representatives of the Greek National Music School. Although he made extensive use of folk tunes and Byzantine chant in his works (such as in the opera *Kassiani* (Kassia) in 1936), he combined the harmony of the romantic style with a rich orchestration. Nevertheless he did not remain indifferent to new trends. Especially his last opera *Amphitryon* (1954)[6] could be considered as an advanced compositional attempt according to the prevailing contemporaneous trends in Greece. Apart from *Amphitryon*, Sklavos has composed the following operas: *Niovi* (1917), *Lestenitsa* (1923), *Kassiani* (1936), *Lily at the Seashore* (1937–1941).

Stelios Sperantzas (1888–1962) was a doctor and author from Sifnos, born in Smyrna in 1888. He is best known for children's poems included in school textbooks. He wrote librettos for operas, the best-known being *Kassiani* by Sklavos and *Mavri petalouda* (Black

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France in the guise of Zeus. However Molière's *Amphitryon* was performed again three days later at the Tuileries Garden in the presence of Louis XIV.

[6] As the composer states at the end of the manuscript of the vocal score, the composition was completed in 1954. However, one encounters a different date (1955) in Aleka Symeōnidou, *Lexiko ellēnōn synthetōn: Biographiko – Ermēneutiko* (Dictionary of Greek Composers: Biographical – Interpretive) (Athens: Ph. Nakas, 1995), 384 and yet another one (1955–1960) in George Leotsakos, 'Sklavos, Georgios', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, xxiii (2nd edn., London: MacMillan, 2001), 477. Furthermore, the date (1955–1960) is found in Takēs Kalogeropoulos, *To lexiko tēs ellēnikēs mousikēs* (The Dictionary of Greek Music), v (Athens: Giallelē, 1998), 427, as well.

Butterfly, 1923) by Dionyssios Lavrangas. He also composed textbooks for the elementary and high schools. However his writing style was reviewed by critics as being at times pompous in terms of language and sometimes simplistic as far as context is concerned. Sperantzas wrote the libretto of *Amphitryon* based exactly on Molière's scintillating work. He followed the same layout, a prologue and three acts, taking advantage of various forms of rhyme in an attempt to simulate the Alexandrine type of stanza with dodecasyllabic verses of French classicism.

The Composition of the Opera

The opera *Amphitryon* by Sklavos is a lyrical comedy in three parts with a prologue. Part I is divided into five scenes and Part II into six scenes. As regards Part III, it is divided into two tableaus. The first tableau consists of scenes 1–4 and the second tableau of scenes 5–9. There are two big orchestral parts for ballet music (*orchistrides*-dancers) in Part III; the first one is 240 bars and the second one 230 bars long.

The characters of the lyrical comedy are shown in the following table.

Character	Voice type
Zeus	Bass
Hermes	Tenor
Night	Alto
Amphitryon, general of Thebans	Tenor
Alcmene, his wife	Soprano
Sosia (Double), Amphitryon's servant	Baritone
Myrto, Alcmene's maid of honour and Sosia's wife	Mezzo-soprano
Procles, Naucrates, chiefs of Theban army	Tenor, Baritone
Lords of Thebes, young people having fun (*Komastai*), messmates, guitar players and the Spirits of the Night	Choir

On the last page of the vocal score Sklavos wrote:

Η σύνθεσις του «Αμφιτρύωνος» ήρχισεν εις τας 29 Απριλίου 1943. Λόγω όμως της κατοχής, της εξώσεως μου εκ της εν Καστρί κατοικίας μου υπό των Γερμανών, των εν συνεχεία Δεκεμβριανών και ολίγον μετά την απελευθέρωσιν παραμονής μου επί κεφαλής της «Εθν. Λυρικής Σκηνής» επί τριετίαν, μικρόν μέρος μόνον του «Προλόγου» είχαν έλθει εις πέρας. Η τακτική εργασία ήρχισε περί τα μέσα στου 1949, με αποτέλεσμα να τελειώσει η Πρώτη πράξις κατά τα τέλη του Μαΐου 1952. Η Δευτέρα πράξις από 28.V.52 μέχρι 23.IX.53 και η

Τρίτη από 26.IX.53 μέχρι 23.VI.54. Η αποτύπωσις εις το καθαρόν του μέρους πιάνο και τραγούδι απήτησε το δίμηνον 24.VI–21.VIII.54.

Καστρί - Κηφισιά 21 Αυγούστου 1954

Υπογραφή Γ. Σκλάβος

The composition of 'Amphitryon' began on 29 April 1943. However, due to the occupation, the eviction from my home at Castri by the Germans, the events which took place directly afterwards in December[7] and shortly after the liberation, the fact that I was in charge of the Greek National Opera in Athens for three years,[8] I had managed to finish only a short part of the prologue. Regular work on the project began in the middle of 1949, and as a result Part One was completed around the end of May 1952. Part Two was created between 28 May 1952 and 23 September 1953 and Part Three from 26 September 1953 up until 23 June 1954. The actual writing of the vocal score demanded two months, between 24 June and 21 August 1954.

Kastri, Kifisia 21 August 1954

Signature by G. Sklavos

The Plot

Prologue

The story is placed in the mythical times, at the home of Amphitryon in Thebes. While Amphitryon is fighting in the battle against Teleboans, Zeus takes his form in order to seduce Alcmene. Hermes helps his father and takes the form of a pseudo-double (Sosia), Amphitryon's slave. From this point on, all things are getting more and more complicated. In the prologue of the opera, Hermes asks Night to last as long as three normal nights in order to allow Zeus to satisfy his sexual appetites.

Part I

Then the real Sosia comes, having been sent by Amphitryon. He meets the pseudo-double Hermes, who not only thrashes him, but also undermines his very existence. Hence Sosia returns to Amphitryon. In Amphitryon's home, Alcmene expresses her pleasant surprise encountering Zeus, having taken the form of Amphitryon, grasping his hand and saying: 'My dear, how strange, even your voice changed at war'. Zeus-Amphitryon asks Alcmene to love him as a lover rather than a spouse. Meanwhile Hermes, having taken the form of Sosia, attempts to escape from Myrto, whereas she expresses her anger at his indifference.

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[7] The events of December (*Dekemvriana*) involved a series of armed conflicts that took place in Athens from December 1944 up until January 1945, between, on the one hand, the forces of leftist organisations (ELAS, EAM, KKE) and, on the other, those of Britain and Greece belonging to the remaining political sides, ranging from social democrats (with George Papandreou, leader of the 'Democratic Socialist Party', as Prime Minister) to the security battalions.

[8] Sklavos undertook the general direction of the Greek National Opera during the years 1946–1949.

Part II

When Sosia returns to Amphitryon, the latter faces him as a drunkard and accuses him of slander. Sosia tries to overcome this endless mess, unravelling all the characteristics of a slave of a spicy farce. On the next day, having returned from the campaign, the real Amphitryon cannot accept Alcmene's attitude after several months of absence. Alcmene cannot comprehend Amphitryon's attitude, neither can Amphitryon Alcmene's. Meanwhile Myrto expresses her anger to Sosia for his attitude.

Part III

The real Amphitryon bursts with anger when he sees celebrations taking place at his own home and another Amphitryon greets him as if no strange thing has happened. This unlikely event of facing one's idol, as if everything is normal and the fact that good and bad qualities in terms of character seem alike, causes the unforced laughter of the people-choir.

Finally, when the real Amphitryon, accompanied by the rulers of the city, goes to claim his house and his wife, Zeus throws a thunderbolt and Hermes, with a Mephistophelian attitude, gives the solution by saying that Alcmene is innocent, because she loved Amphitryon in the form of Zeus, and that she will give birth to Hercules, Zeus' son, and Iphicles, Amphitryon's son.

Some Observations on the Music

The play is in a typical archaic-pagan style. Sklavos followed the current compositional trends, avoiding the use of key signatures in many parts, so as to achieve a more efficient use of chromaticism and modality. He avoided the catalytic role of clear phrasing and cadences, rendering his melodies a sense of primitivism. The simultaneous use of tonal and dominant chords in combination with other dissonances reinforces this sensation.

The rhythmic layout of the vocal lines is based upon the poetic structure and form of the verses of the Greek libretto. There are some distinctive arias and songs, but generally the vocal lines are based on a declamatory rhyme *recitativo* style in monologues and dialogues. They are frequently composed in counterpoint, often starting on the leitmotifs. Often beneath the melodic line small repetitive rhythmic patterns are used with contrapuntal technique, that contributes to a vivid and facetious sensation.

All the parts of the protagonists are written within normal voice range without any major outbreaks or high *tessituras*. However, the polysyllabic and elaborate vocal lines pose a number of vocal technical challenges to the interpreter; the work's technical requirements thus call for artists with advanced musical abilities for the precise interpretation of the score. The role of Amphitryon is clearly very small in comparison with the others, since essentially the protagonists are Sosia, a comic figure, Hermes, the stage director of the plot, unsuspicious Alcmene, Zeus, sexual partner of Alcmene, and Myrto, Alcmene's faithful maid.

The erotic element is expressed through dialogues-duets, which are consistently expressed between two persons, even if more than two characters are present (as in the

first quartet: Zeus–Alcmene, Hermes–Myrto and the second quartet: Zeus–Alcmene, Sosia–Myrto).

The choir, which represents various forms of people, is not a decorative mass but, in fact, has a very energetic role throughout the play. There are many choral parts and they are really magnificent, especially in the tableaus, just as in the style of grand-opéra.

Characteristic Musical Examples[9]

The melodic line of the prologue's introductory theme ('adagio' 4/4), introduced by the slow vibrations of the bass clarinet, moves in chromatic tetrachords (Byzantine Mode II Plagal) based on E, hovering over an F *ostinato*, which also resolves in E by the awesome sounds of the double bass. The highly archaic and mysterious sense that is thus generated is further reinforced through the use of dissonances and augmented chords tinged with the veiled tones of the English horn and the odd ones of the bassoon.

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[9] All musical examples have been reproduced by kind permission of the Athens Conservatoire.

Example 1. 'Prologue', bb. 1–16[10]

The prologue's short introduction is followed by the choral part (first stanza) of the invisible Spirits of the Night in four voices. Its outer voices are in ancient diatonic Hypodorian mode from A, while internal voices originally move in chromatic tetrachords and then in chromatic motion.

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[10] The short scores that appear in this paper have been reconstructed by the author of this essay from the orchestral parts and a draft manuscript of a piano vocal score.

Example 2. 'Prologue' (The Spirits of the Night), bb. 17–19

In the fourth scene of Part I, Hermes, in the form of Sosia, attempts to escape from Myrto, whereas she expresses her anger at his indifference by singing in 'allegro moderato' 3/4 + 3/8 reinforced by kettle drums (that corresponds to the 9/8 beat of the Greek dance of *karsilamas*), which is maintained until the end of Part I. At this point, Myrto, Hermes, and the young men who tease her are the main characters. The notable use of two simultaneous chords substantially complicates the harmonic texture. At the same time, being combined with diatonic scales, which are enhanced by chromatically rotating tonal centres, this texture emanates the sounding sensation of non-tempered traditional music.

Example 3. 'Myrto and Choir', Part I scene iv, bb. 575–584

It is worthwhile mentioning that the ballet music of the *Orchestris*, composed in archaic style with the dominating brilliant tone colours of the violins, is really magnificent.

Example 4. The ballet music of the *Orchestris*, Part III tableau i, bb. 210–219

Leitmotifs[11]

Sklavos made extensive use of leitmotifs as notification components that also provide energetic force. Leitmotifs not only serve as melodic forms, but are also combined with harmonic and rhythmical elements and other sound effects that emerge from the orchestra and are sometimes webbed in layering.

The entrance of Hermes is marked by his characteristic two-bar leitmotif in 'allegro assai', which describes his impetuous and impulsive nature. This leitmotif – a fine combination of stringed and wind instruments – is based on sequences of sixteenth notes moving in augmented, perfect and diminished parallel fourths that revolve around the tonal centre of E falling to D.

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[11] No documentation by Sklavos determining the leitmotifs employed in *Amphitryon* had been found up until the publication of this paper. Therefore, the current study presents the first analysis of leitmotifs that appear in *Amphitryon* as these have been identified by the undersigned.

Example 5. 'Prologue', Hermes' leitmotif, bb. 90–95

Sosia's leitmotif is a mosaic of individual additive rhythmic-melodic motifs by the violins and violoncellos that render the unstable, cunning and lazy nature of his drunkard character. Sosia's wine song, that follows in A minor, is also accompanied by two simultaneous chords.

Example 6. Sosia's leitmotif and the beginning of his wine song, Part I scene i, bb. 8–18

Alcmene's leitmotif is first sung by Hermes in 6/8 'molto moderato' in ancient Hypolydian mode from F. However when she appears upon stage, her leitmotif is rendered in Hypolydian mode from C. The wavy melodic line of her leitmotif, rendered by the warm voice of the horn and supported by the velvet notes of the violoncello, in conjunction with the Hypolydian mode suggest her voluptuousness.

Example 7. Alcmene's leitmotif, Part II scene ii, bb. 84–93

Zeus' leitmotif sounds majestic and impressive. His divine existence is rendered by the reinforced notes of the double bass and the trombones – whereas his human sexual weakness is highlighted through the deep impression created by the violas and the violoncellos.

Example 8. Zeus' leitmotif, Part III tableau i scene iv, bb. 989–992

Amphitryon's raging and impetuous entry is marked by a leitmotif in 'vivo' 3/4 metre in ancient pentatonic mode combining Dorian and Phrygian tetrachords, resulting in a rigorous military style rendered by the stringed instruments.

Example 9. Amphitryon's leitmotif, Part II scene iii, bb. 147–156

In conclusion, the opera *Amphitryon*, with its witty melody and orchestration, is a bright work that could really appeal to contemporary audiences. Moreover it certainly deserves to be included in the repertory of the Greek National Opera. Later on, it might become part of the repertory of other international Opera Theatres, if it were to be translated into a foreign language such as Italian or English (taking into consideration the tonal rhythm of the Greek verses as well) to achieve a broader comprehension and international acceptance.

Modernism and Greek Antiquity in the Work of Yorgos Sicilianos[*]

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ABSTRACT: Yorgos Sicilianos (1920–2005) was one of the most important figures associated with musical modernism in Greece. He turned to modernist idioms in the mid-1950s, while at the same time focusing on classical antiquity as the principal means of defining a national identity in his music. In this way he distanced himself from the Byzantine and folk traditions, associated with the then-dominant Greek National Music School. Works related to Greek antiquity play an essential role throughout his output, and three of his most important theoretical texts deal with the issue of setting to music texts drawn from ancient tragedy. The musical works can be broadly divided into three categories: ballets with themes from ancient Greece, incidental music for the staging of tragedies, and works that use fragments of ancient Greek texts (mainly tragedies).

This paper focuses on the attempt by Sicilianos to create a field within which he could simultaneously draw upon antiquity and modernism, and it traces the origins of this association to the first work in which he uses modernist techniques, the Concerto for Orchestra, Op. 12. It further identifies two consecutive phases in Sicilianos's development of this dual field. In the first phase, Sicilianos combines the use of modernist techniques with references to folk material, which are understood as vestigial traces of the Ancient Greek past, thus allowing for an element of continuity between past and present; in the second phase, external references are completely absent and the composer aims at a more organic connection between ancient texts and modernist idioms, enabling a dialogue (rather than a continuity) between past and present. Notions such as universality and atemporality provide the main ideological common thread between, on one hand, ancient drama as perceived at that time in Greece, and, on the other hand, one of the essential tenets of modernism.

The Concerto for Orchestra, Op. 12, composed in 1954, was the work that established Yorgos Sicilianos (1920–2005) as a modernist composer. I will suggest in this paper that it also helped inaugurate his enduring interest in Greek antiquity, though this was not a dimension of the work that was recognised at the time. I will further suggest that these two aspects of his creativity were closely linked. Prior to the Concerto for Orchestra, Sicilianos's principal agenda as a composer was a renewal or renovation of the aesthetic of the so-called 'Greek National Music School' associated with Manolis Kalomiris and his circle. When he described the future of Greek music as lying 'στο σημείο όπου το Βυζαντινό Εκκλησιαστικό Μέλος διασταυρώνεται με το Δημοτικό Τραγούδι' (at the point where Byzantine Chant intersects with Greek Folk Song[1]), he was articulating the conventional

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[1] Giōrgos Sisilianos, 'Ē sygchronē mousikē stēn Ellada sēmera. To prosōpiko mousiko mou odoiporiko kai merikes skepseis gia tēn sygchronē mousikē sto telos tou 20ou aiōna' (Contemporary music in Greece nowadays. My personal musical trajectory and a few thoughts on contemporary music at the end of the twentieth century), in Giōrgos Sisilianos, *Gia tē Mousikē* (About Music), ed. Ellē Giōtopoulou-Sisilianou (Athens: Mouseio Benaki; Athens: Hellenic Music Centre, 2011), 344–345.

rhetoric of the National Music School,[2] though he was deeply conscious of the need to advance the idioms of the older generation of composers, associated with the Kalomiris circle.[3] Nationalism was the dominant orthodoxy while Sicilianos was studying in Greece (1941–1948), and it continued to inform his music during the period of his studies at the Santa Cecilia Academy in Rome (1951–1953), where he was a member of the class of Ildebrando Pizzetti.

Nevertheless, it was in Italy that Sicilianos first encountered the music of Béla Bartók, as well as the compositions of the Second Viennese School, and these points of contact with 'contemporary' trends undoubtedly helped to reorientate his music towards a modernist aesthetic. Interestingly, he had already met Nikos Skalkottas, and had even shown him some of his music, but he was not familiar with Skalkottas's compositions, which represented the first wave of modernism in Greece.[4] It is well known that Skalkottas's modernist works, with their highly personal adaptation of the twelve-note technique,[5] were sidelined in Greece during the composer's lifetime,[6] as were the atonal (and in one case twelve-note) works of Dimitri Mitropoulos.[7]

From the early 1950s onwards the climate changed, not least for political reasons. Musical modernism, a failed project in the pre-war period, began to gain ground in Greece at this time, partly due to initiatives by a small handful of younger Greek musicians, and partly through the activities of USIS (United States Information Service) and the Goethe

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[2] Yannis Belonis, 'The Greek National Music School', in Katy Romanou (ed.), *Serbian and Greek Art Music. A Patch to Western Music History* (Bristol: Intellect, 2009), 125–161.

[3] Valia Christopoulou, 'Yorgos Sicilianos and the Musical Avant garde in Greece', in Costas Tsougras, Danae Stefanou, and Kostas Chardas (eds.), *Beyond the Centres: Musical Avant-gardes since 1950. Thessaloniki, 1-5 July 2010, Department of Music Studies, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Conference Proceedings* <http://btc.web.auth.gr/_assets/_papers/CHRISTOPOULOU.pdf>, accessed 2 June 2011.

[4] Ibid.

[5] See Giōrgos Zervos, *O Nikos Skalkōtas kai ē eurōpaikē paradosē tōn archōn tou eikostou aiōna* (Nikos Skalkottas and the European Tradition of the Early Twentieth Century) (Athens: Papagrigoriou – Nakas, 2001), 15–27; Eva Mantzourani, 'An Introduction to Skalkottas' Twelve-note Compositional Processes', in Haris Vrondos (ed.), *Nikos Skalkottas. A Greek European* (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2008), 88-125. For a more detailed discussion on this issue, see the recent study of Eva Mantzourani, *The Life and Twelve-note Music of Nikos Skalkottas* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

[6] Yannis Belonis, 'The Attitude of the Greek Daily and Periodical Press towards Skalkottas during the Period 1920–1960', in Vrondos (ed.), *Nikos Skalkottas*, 444–479; Katy Romanou, 'Nikos Skalkottas', in Romanou (ed.), *Serbian and Greek Art Music,* 165–185.

[7] Apostolos Kōstios, 'O synthetēs Dēmētrēs Mētropoulos' (The Composer Dimitri Mitropoulos), Programme note for *Dēmētrēs Mētropoulos. Afierōma sto synthetiko tou ergo* (Dimitri Mitropoulos. A Tribute to his Compositional Work) (Athens: The Athens Concert Hall, 1995-1996), 12–28. See also: Apostolos Kōstios, 'O Dēmētrēs Mētropoulos kai ē Scholē tēs Viennēs' (Dimitri Mitropoulos and the Viennese School), *Mousikos Logos*, 5 (summer 2003), 77–84; Nikos Maliaras, 'O Dēmētrēs Mētropoulos me ēmeromēnia lēxeōs ē mia diadromē chōris telos; Oi prospatheies enos synthetē na apokalypsei tēn tautotēta tou se mia periodo anazētēseōn' (Dimitri Mitropoulos with an Expiry Date or an Endless Trip? The Efforts of a Composer to Reveal his Identity in a Period of Explorations), in Iōannēs Foulias, Giannēs Belōnēs, Giōrgos Vlastos, and Tasos Kolydas (eds.), *Dēmētrēs Mētropoulos (1896–1960): penēnta chronia meta* (Dimitri Mitropoulos (1896–1960): 50 Years On) (Athens: Orpheus Editions, 2011), 25–32; On Mitropoulos's modernist works, see the chapters of Charēs Xanthoudakēs, Athanasios Trikoupēs, Kōstas Tsougras, and Giōrgos Sakallieros in the aforementioned edited volume.

Institute.[8] These and other foreign institutions helped provide a new context for progressive tendencies among the younger generation of Greek composers, including Sicilianos. The Concerto for Orchestra, the first composition in which Sicilianos turned to the twelve-note method, was the key work in this respect,[9] ushering in what the composer himself thought of as a second period in his creative life.

Yet this second creative period was characterised not just by his engagement with modernist techniques, but also by his focus on classical antiquity: a quest for qualities of 'Greekness' that might distance his music from the Byzantine and folk traditions associated with the Greek National Music School. From this point on – the mid-1950s – a preoccupation with Greek antiquity characterises much of his output, and it is worth noting that three of his most important theoretical texts deal with the issue of setting texts from ancient Greek tragedy. The relevant musical works can be broadly subdivided into three categories: (a) ballets with themes from ancient Greece; (b) incidental music for the staging of tragedies; and (c) works that use fragments of ancient Greek texts (mainly tragedies).

For the purposes of this paper I will omit the incidental music, and will place the emphasis firmly on the Concerto for Orchestra, Op. 12, partly by way of analytical commentary and partly with reference to the theoretical observations made by Sicilianos himself in the programme note he wrote to accompany a performance of this piece.

The Concerto for Orchestra is not a work that, by its title and its genre, invites an immediate association with Greek antiquity. Yet, in his programme note for the work, the composer talks right from the start about the 'Spirit of Tragedy' imbuing this music.

Ιδέα του συνθέτη στάθηκε το ν' αποδώσει μουσικά το Πνεύμα της Τραγωδίας στη βαθύτερή του ουσία, χωρίς όμως την παραμικρότερη πρόθεση 'προγραμματισμού', έστω και πάνω σ' έναν ισχνά διαγραφόμενο μύθο. Στα λίγα εισαγωγικά μέτρα, ακούγεται από τα χάλκινα ένα τραγικό μοτίβο, που βασισμένο σε μια 'τρίτη μικρή' και μια 'έβδομη [μεγάλη]',[10] δεσπόζει όλου του έργου και γίνεται ο πυρήνας γύρω από τον οποίο περιστρέφεται ρυθμικά, μελωδικά και αρμονικά ακόμη, ολόκληρο το μουσικό υλικό που επακολουθεί. Μονάχα στο φινάλε, οι εσωτερικοί δεσμοί, που ενώνουν τα τρία προηγούμενα μέρη, χαλαρώνονται αισθητά. Οι σκοποί που ακούγονται γίνονται πιο γνώριμοι, πιο απαλοί, το ύφος λιγότερο

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[8] Kaitē Rōmanou, *Entechnē ellēnikē mousikē stous neōterous chronous* (Greek Art Music in Modern Times) (Athens: Koultoura, 2006), 236.

[9] In a review following the work's première (28.11.1954) Phoibos Anōgeianakēs notes: 'Με το "Κοντσέρτο για ορχήστρα" ο κ. Σισιλιάνος, όπως λίγες μέρες πριν ο Παπαϊωάννου με τη "Συμφωνία" του, μας φέρνει ένα νέο μήνυμα: Την προσπάθεια να συνδυάσουμε την ελληνική μουσική με τα σύγχρονα εκφραστικά μέσα που χρησιμοποιεί η μουσική στην Ευρώπη. Προσπάθεια επίπονη, κουραστική, πολλές φορές αχάριστη, που αποτελεί όμως βασικό αίτημα. Αλλοίμονο στην τέχνη που δεν ανανεώνεται. Αυτό το αξίωμα αισθάνεται βαθύτατα σαν αναπότρεπτη ανάγκη η νεώτερη γενιά των Ελλήνων συνθετών μας, που φλέγεται από τον πόθο της ανανέωσης' (Mr. Sicilianos, with his Concerto for Orchestra, and a few days before him [Yannis A.] Papaioannou with his Symphony, convey a new message: the effort to combine Greek music with contemporary European musical expressive means. This is a difficult and uphill effort, sometimes even ungrateful, that constitutes nevertheless an essential demand. […] This is an irreversible need for the new generation of our composers, who are burning with the desire of renewal). Phoibos Anōgeianakēs, 'To Kontserto gia Orchēstra tou Giōrgou Sisilianou' (Yorgos Sicilianos' Concerto for Orchestra), *Apogeumatinē* (Athens), 30 November 1954.

[10] In the original text 'έβδομη ηυξημένη'.

τραχύ, και το αρχικό 'Τραγικό μοτίβο' μεταμορφώνεται σιγά σιγά, σε μια μελωδία, που έχει το άρωμα του ελληνικού δημοτικού τραγουδιού.

The idea of the composer has been to illustrate in musical terms the Spirit of Tragedy in its deepest essence, without the slightest intention of creating a 'programme', even in the form of a faintly delineated myth. In the introductory bars the brass play a tragic motif. This motif, based on a 'minor third' and a '[major] seventh',[11] dominates the entire piece, functioning as the basic cell around which all the musical material has been built, in terms of rhythm, melody and even harmony. Not until the Finale do the internal bonds that keep the three previous movements together loosen significantly. The tunes become more familiar, softer, the style is less rough and the initial 'Tragic motif' is transformed little by little into a melody that has something of the flavour of Greek folk song.

Sicilianos then continues with some brief explanatory comments about the form of each movement.[12]

This note was written for a performance of the Concerto for Orchestra by the Greek Radio Symphony Orchestra conducted by Franz Litschauer, in the 'Kentrikon' Theatre on 4 December 1960. Sicilianos had also written a note to accompany the première of the work on 28 November 1954,[13] and although the two notes overlap, at least as far as the analytical comments go, the earlier version makes no reference to the association of the 'Spirit of Tragedy' with the 'basic cell'. It is not possible to give a definitive explanation for this, but it is certain that during the years between 1954 and 1960 Sicilianos's preoccupation with Greek antiquity grew stronger, as evidenced by a series of works: *Tanagraea*, Op. 17, a ballet written in 1957, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, Op. 18, incidental music for the staging of the Euripides tragedy of the same title, written in 1958, *Bakches* (The Bacchantes), Op. 19, a ballet, written in 1959, and *Heraklēs Mainomenos* (The Madness of Herakles), Op. 20, incidental music for the staging of the Euripides tragedy of the same title, written in 1960. Significantly, it was during this same period that Sicilianos's decision to adhere to a modernist aesthetic became more firm.

What makes the first part of the programme note for the Concerto for Orchestra of particular interest is the way in which the composer connects the 'Spirit of Tragedy', through the 'tragic motif', to the basic cell. The 'tragic motif' is played twice in the top voice (first trumpet) in bars 1–3 in the introduction of the first movement:

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[11] In the original text 'augmented seventh'.

[12] Giōrgos Sisilianos, Programme note for the Concerto for Orchestra, Op. 12, in the Programme of the Greek Radio Symphony Orchestra, Athens, 4 December 1960, reprinted in Sisilianos, *Gia tē Mousikē*, 415. Concerning the link between the Concerto for Orchestra and ancient Greek tragedy, see also: 'Synenteuxē ston Misel Fais gia to archeio tēs Stegēs Grammatōn kai Technōn' (Interview with Michel Fais for the archive of the Centre of Literature and Arts), in Sisilianos, *Gia tē Mousikē*, 168–185.

[13] Giōrgos Sisilianos, Programme note for the Concerto for Orchestra, Op. 12, in the Programme of the Athens State Orchestra, Athens, 28 November 1954, reprinted in Valia Christopoulou, *Katalogos ergōn Giōrgou Sisilianou* (Catalogue of the Works of Yorgos Sicilianos) (Athens: Panas Music, 2011), 41–42.

Example 1. Sicilianos, Concerto for Orchestra, first movement, bb. 1–6
(Reproduced by kind permission of Ellē Giōtopoulou-Sisilianou)

This motif becomes the basic cell of the work and consists of the first three notes of the following twelve-note row:

Example 2. The twelve-note row employed in the Concerto for Orchestra

This row is used consistently in the third movement, which is the only twelve-note movement of the piece and is written in a ternary form. In the first and second movements,

both adhering to a sonata-form outline, Sicilianos does not follow the twelve-note method, although he does refer to the twelve-note row, first in its entirety (first movement) and then in part (second movement). In the fourth movement, the row does not appear at all. In this movement, written in Rondo form, the composer uses pentatonic and modal material. So, we can say that the three first notes of the row, which Sicilianos calls the basic cell, play a prevalent role in the three first movements of the Concerto.[14]

It is worth noting that this intervallic cell lies close to the heart of German modernism in music, notably the music of the Second Viennese School. When put in 'best normal order', / 0 1 4 / (using Allen Forte's nomenclature), the cell consists of a semitone and a minor third enclosed within a major third, and its inversions and interversions play an essential role in music by Schoenberg and Webern in particular. It is crystallised (or one might say 'distilled') in the serial technique of Webern. Of the relevant compositions (one could cite the Variations for Piano, Op. 27, the First Cantata, Op. 29 or the Variations for Orchestra, Op. 30) the most emblematic is the Concerto for Nine Instruments, Op. 24, in that the cell here functions as an *Ur*-series for the entire work. It is noteworthy that it can be traced back to the pre-serial works of Schoenberg, where the link with an expressionist aesthetic is explicit. One might cite here the first of the Three pieces for piano, Op. 11, parts of *Erwartung*, Op. 17, and the first of the Five pieces for piano, Op. 23. But the most explicit cellular treatment is, of course, in the eighth movement 'Nacht' from *Pierrot lunaire*, where the connotative values are of telling significance.[15]

As noted earlier, Sicilianos described this motif as 'the basic cell around which all the musical material has been built, in terms of rhythm, melody and even harmony'. This statement refers directly to a Brahmsian or Schoenbergian technique of developing variation, a reference made even clearer in an interview with Theodore Antoniou:

[…] αφού μιλάμε για χαρακτηριστικά της μουσικής μου, θάθελα να προσθέσω ακόμα ένα, τεχνικής φύσης. Εννοώ την 'παραλλαγή', στην πλατειά βέβαια σημασία του όρου –τη σύλληψη δηλ. ενός μουσικού πυρήνα […] και μετά ένα αργό χτίσιμο του έργου, πέτρα με την πέτρα, με υλικό που βασίζεται στους μετασχηματισμούς του αρχικού αυτού πυρήνα.[16]

[…] as far as the characteristics of my music go, I would like to refer to one more. I mean 'variation', in the wider meaning of the term – that is the conception of a basic cell […] and then the building of the work stone by stone, through musical material that is based on the permutations of this basic cell.

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[14] Valia Christopoulou, 'Giōrgos Sisilianos – Zōē kai ergo' (Yorgos Sicilianos – Life and Work), Ph.D. diss. (University of Athens, 2009), 42–61.

[15] For a brief discussion on the function of the intervallic cell [0 1 4] in the music of Anton Webern and Arnold Schoenberg, see Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, iv (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 721–738, 334–337, 687–688 respectively. Concerning the role of the aforementioned intervallic cell in Schoenberg's 'Nacht' from *Pierrot Lunaire*, see Jonathan Dunsby, *Schoenberg: Pierrot Lunaire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 47–50.

[16] Giōrgos Sisilianos, Interview to Theodore Antoniou broadcasted in the Third Programme of the Greek Radio and Television, 22 January 1978, published in the journal *Rotonta*, 5 (December 1978), 24–27, reprinted in Sisilianos, *Gia tē Mousikē*, 152–160.

Compare this with Schoenberg's description of developing variation: '[the] variation of the features of a basic unit produces all the thematic formulations'.[17]

Yet, the same elements that connect the Concerto for Orchestra with German modernism, that is the / 0 1 4 / pitch set and the technique of developing variation, are also closely linked with the music of Bartók, whose own Concerto for Orchestra is, of course, an obvious generic reference point. First, the trichord consisting of a minor second and a minor third is one of the essential trichords in Bartók's music, specifically in works of the second decade, such as the Second String Quartet (second movement), the ballets *The Wooden Prince* and *The Miraculous Mandarin*, and the opera *Duke Bluebeard's Castle*,[18] in which it constitutes basic unifying material.[19] Second, the technique of developing variation in Sicilianos's Concerto for Orchestra is connected with the Bartókian technique of monothematicism (based on motivic and intervallic invariance) with the / 0 1 4 / set functioning as a unifying element. Moreover, it is worth noting that in the third movement of the Concerto Sicilianos uses elements that point even more directly to the music of Bartók, including the inverted dotted notes, a technique of formal disruption,[20] and woodwind figures that are reminiscent of the Bartókian genre of 'night music'.[21]

What we see from all this is that the first time that Sicilianos talks about the 'Spirit of Tragedy' is also the first time that he engages with modernist techniques. In the Concerto for Orchestra he tries to depict the 'essence' of the 'Spirit of Greek Tragedy', and he does so by using the / 0 1 4 / intervallic cell, the technique of developing variation, and the twelve-note technique. However, in the last movement of the work, where these techniques are not used, the basic cell, as the composer himself remarked, is transformed into a melody reminiscent of Greek folk song:

Example 3. Sicilianos, Concerto for Orchestra, fourth movement, bb. 11-14
(Reproduced by kind permission of Ellē Giōtopoulou-Sisilianou)

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[17] Arnold Schoenberg, *Style and Idea* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 397.

[18] On this intervallic trichord, see János Kárpáti, *Bartók's Chamber Music*, trans. Fred Macnicol and Mária Steiner, rev. trans. Paul Merrick (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1994), 44, 101, 119–122.

[19] See Rita Honti, *Principles of Pitch Organization in Bartok's* Duke Bluebeard's Castle (Studia musicologica universitatis Helsingiensis, 13; Helsinki: Gummerus, 2006) <http://ethesis.helsinki.fi/julkaisut/hum/taite/ vk/honti/principl.pdf>, accessed 15 April 2011.

[20] See David Cooper, *Concerto for Orchestra* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 75–76.

[21] Christopoulou, 'Giōrgos Sisilianos – Zōē kai Ergo', 42–61.

This melody, which forms the main thematic material of the fourth movement, is written in the Aeolian mode centred on D, or, alternatively, on a D natural minor scale, but with elements of D harmonic minor (the C sharp in bars 3–4 of the melody) and D major (the F sharp). The interchangeability of minor and major scales here signals the minor and major thirds of the basic cell, thus constituting the principal unifying element between the first three movements and the last movement. In this way, within the Concerto for Orchestra, Greek antiquity is associated with modernism in the three first movements, and with Greek folk song and more 'traditional' musical techniques, in the fourth movement.

This perspective becomes clearer when one considers the works that follow the Concerto for Orchestra, works that are more directly associated with ancient Greece. In *Tanagraea*, Op. 17, a ballet written in 1957, in which the twelve-note technique is completely absent, Sicilianos uses a Greek folk song as a quotation: in 'Dance', the eighth movement of the work, he quotes the song 'Kontoula lemonia' (My Little Short Lemon Tree). In *The Bacchantes*, Op. 19 (1959), also a ballet, a twelve-note row is used partially, alongside material with clear tonal references. Sicilianos remarks here that he has invented 'σκοπο[ύς] που, χωρίς καθόλου ν' αντιγράφουν το δημοτικό ελληνικό τραγούδι, βαδίζουν ίσως παράλληλα προς αυτό' (tunes that, without copying Greek folk song at all, maybe move in parallel with it). And he goes on: 'Θεώρησα πως αυτό ήταν το μόνο μέσο που μου απόμενε για ν' αποδώσω μουσικά τη λαϊκή βάση που υπάρχει ασφαλώς σε κάθε λατρεία και που εδώ αποτελεί τη ρίζα του μύθου' (I thought this was the only means I had left in order to render in musical terms the popular foundation that certainly exists for every form of ritual, in this case constituting the roots of the [Bacchic] myth). As far as the musical language is concerned, he says: 'προτίμησα ν' ακολουθήσω τη γνώμη εκείνων που θεωρούν απαραίτητο το ξαναζωντάνεμα των αρχαίων κειμένων και μύθων στο μουσικό ιδίωμα της εποχής μας' (I chose to take the direction of those who seek to revive the ancient texts and myths in the musical language of our time).[22]

The use of contemporary musical idioms in works associated with Greek antiquity can be seen as part of a wider trend, which, as Anastasia Siōpsē proposes in a paper about music for the staging of ancient drama in 1900–1940, has its roots in the late 1930s.[23] Siōpsē suggests that whereas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries antiquity in Greece was approached by way of European-inspired concepts of nationalism in order to demonstrate historical continuities between ancient and modern Greece (resulting in a

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[22] Sisilianos, Programme note for *The Bacchantes*, Op. 19 No. 2, in the Programme of the Athens State Orchestra, Athens, 11 January 1960, reprinted in Christopoulou, *Katalogos Ergōn Giōrgou Sisilianou*, 61–62.

[23] Anastasia Siōpsē, 'Ptyches tēs neoellēnikēs politismikēs physiognōmias mesa apo to rolo tēs mousikēs se anaviōseis tou archaiou dramatos tis prōtes dekaeties tou eikostou aiōna' (Aspects of the Modern Greek Cultural Character through the Role of Music in the Revival of Ancient Drama in the Early Twentieth Century), in Giōrgos Vlastos (ed.), *Ellēnikē mousikē dēmiourgia tou 20ou aiōna gia to lyriko theatro kai alles parastatikes technes. Praktika synedriou* (Greek Twentieth-Century Musical Output for The Lyric Theatre and Other Performing Arts. Conference Proceedings) (Athens: The Friends of Music Society, 2009), 119 <http://www.mmb.org.gr/files/2010/Πρακτικά%20Συνεδρίου.pdf>, accessed 10 April 2011. See also Siōpsē's contribution to this volume: Anastasia Siopsi, 'Ancient Greek Images in Modern Greek Frames: Readings of Antiquity in Music for Productions of Ancient Dramas and Comedies in Twentieth-century Greece'.

passive or 'defensive' attitude towards antiquity), in the interwar period Greekness was experienced more subjectively. It became, in effect, a stylistic archetype, and this resulted in a shifting of interest from the past to the present. At the end of this passage, Siōpsē adds a footnote referring to Dimitris Tziovas's article 'Reconfiguring the Past: Antiquity and Greekness'.[24] Siōpsē's two categories correspond to the second and third of the four categories in Tziovas's article. It should be noted that Tziovas's categories roughly follow a chronological sequence – he himself is careful to point out that these four approaches 'do not succeed one another chronologically and thus are not clearly demarcated and do not work in isolation but overlap one another' – with the second ('holistic and romantic') coming into its own in the late nineteenth century and the third ('authentic or modernist') associated with the cultural modernism of the twentieth century. (Note that Kostas Chardas uses this third category in his paper 'Greek musical modernism (1950s–1970s) and the archetypal perception of Hellenic past', of which only an abstract is currently available).[25]

Siōpsē's first category stresses the continuity between past and present, in keeping with conventional continuity narratives in Greek history more generally. This perception of continuity underpins the use of folk song and Byzantine chant, which are seen as vestiges of the past and, consequently, as the only suitable means for approaching a 'tradition' of 'tragic music', something definitely lost to our time. The second category treats the past in more abstract terms and enables a dialogue between past and present. This second approach uses contemporary musical language in order to reactivate the past and shifts the emphasis from the past to the present.

Sicilianos is among those who adopt an archetypal approach to the ancient Greek past, an approach that, more generally and also in his own work, is connected to the use of modernist idioms. However, in the first phase of the second period of his work, one can also discern an affinity with Siōpsē's first category, stressing the continuity between ancient and modern Greece and doing so partly by way of folk material. First, as we saw earlier, in the Concerto for Orchestra the 'tragic motif' turns little by little into a melody that 'has the flavour of a Greek folk song', a transformation strongly suggestive of a continuity between the past and the present. Second, in the eighth movement of *Tanagraea* the quotation of a folk song stands out as the only occurrence of folk material in Sicilianos's entire oeuvre. Third, in *The Bacchantes*, Sicilianos uses tunes that have some affinities, even if more

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[24] Dimitris Tziovas, 'Reconfiguring the Past: Antiquity and Greekness', in Dimitris Damaskos and Dimitris Plantzos (eds.), *A Singular Antiquity. Archaelogy and Hellenic Identity in Twentieth-century Greece* (Athens: Mouseio Benaki, 2008), 287–298.

[25] Kostas Chardas, 'Greek Musical Modernism (1950s–1970s) and the Archetypal Perception of Hellenic Past', in Costas Tsougras, Danae Stefanou, and Kostas Chardas (eds.), *Beyond the Centres: Musical Avant-gardes since 1950. Thessaloniki, 1-5 July 2010, Department of Music Studies, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Conference Proceedings* <http://btc.web.auth.gr/_assets/_abstracts/Chardas.pdf>, accessed 28 January 2012. Chardas also uses Tziovas's categories in his essay 'Greek Antiquity and Different Strands of Twentieth-century Greek Music', in Katerina Levidou, Katy Romanou, and George Vlastos (eds.), *Musical Receptions of Greek Antiquity: From the Romantic Era to Modernism* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, forthcoming).

distant, with folk song. Here, importantly, these tunes assume an additional function: of rendering the popular foundations of the myth of the ballet.

Those three works were written between 1954 and 1959 and belong to the first phase of the second period of Sicilianos's work. In the early 1960s, he moved on to the second phase of the same period, that point at which he began using serial techniques. This phase coincided with the systematic promotion of the avant-garde in Greece, which started in the 1950s, and was intensified in the 1960s by means of institutions such as the Workshop of Contemporary Music of Goethe Institute (founded by the musicologist Iōhannēs G. Papaioannou and the German composer Günther Becker in 1962), the Experimental Orchestra (founded by Manos Hadjidakis in 1964) and the Hellenic Group of Contemporary Music (founded by Theodore Antoniou in 1968), as well as the Greek Section of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM), founded in 1964, and the Greek Association for Contemporary Music (ESSYM), founded in 1965, of which Sicilianos was a founding member and Vice-President (1964–1968, 1965–1969, respectively).[26] The result was a whole new community of composers, performers, critics and audiences, together with an impassioned polemic surrounding new music. Here, for the first time there was a sense that Greece was 'catching up' with contemporary developments in the more charismatic cultural centres of Western Europe.[27] During this period, two works of Sicilianos were chosen to represent Greece in the 39th and 41st Festival of ISCM, in 1965 and 1967. One of them was *Stasimon B'*, on Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, for mezzo soprano, women's choir and orchestra, Op. 25, written in 1964. Sicilianos's next work related to Greek antiquity, *Epiklesis*, on Aeschylus' *Persians*, for narrator, men's choir, four women's voices and twelve performers, Op. 29, written in 1968, was commissioned by the Hellenic Association for Contemporary Music (ESSYM), and was premièred in the Third Week for Contemporary Music in Athens (22.12.1968).[28]

In these two works Sicilianos aimed at a more elaborate and dialectical use of the ancient Greek heritage, and one that has been constructed, as it were, from within, that is, without external referents. Firstly, there are no allusions at all to folk music either in *Stasimon B'* or in *Epiklesis*. Secondly, Sicilianos writes about the excerpts of tragedies used in those works: 'με παρακίνησαν να αναζητήσω με το ένστικτο και μόνο και τη φαντασία – αφού κάθε άλλος τρόπος θα ήταν για μένα μάταιος – την πηγή μιας χαμένης πια σήμερα παράδοσης αρχαίας τραγικής Μουσικής' (they created in me the desire to seek only by means of my instinct – since every other way would be vain for me – the sources of a tradition of tragic music definitely lost in our time).[29] In keeping with this 'instinctive'

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[26] Romanou, *Entechnē ellēnikē mousikē*, 236. Christopoulou, 'Giōrgos Sisilianos (1920–2005)' and 'Chronologio' (Chronology), in *Giōrgos Sisilianos. O synthetēs stēn prōtoporia tēs sygchronēs mousikēs* (Yorgos Sicilianos. The Composer in the Avant-garde of Contemporary Music) (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2007), 20, 243–245.

[27] Christopoulou, 'Giōrgos Sisilianos – Zōē kai Ergo', 108, 121–122, 153.

[28] Christopoulou, *Katalogos ergōn Giōrgou Sisilianou*, 75, 81–82.

[29] Giōrgos Sisilianos, 'Anazētōntas mia chamenē paradosē tragikēs mousikēs ē scholia gyrō apo tē melopoiēsē enos apospasmatos archaias tragōdias' (In Search of a Lost Tradition of Tragic Music, or Comments Concerning the Setting of an Ancient Tragedy Fragment), in *Chroniko 72*, iii (Athens: Kallitechniko kai pneumatiko kentro

approach, he turned to specific elements of the texts and to the use of serial techniques in order to create a field in which he could simultaneously draw on antiquity and on modernism. In those works, the rhythmic series are closely related to the ancient metres and the form derives from the structure of the text. Moreover, in *Epiklesis* he combined serial techniques with his first use of Erasmian pronunciation, giving priority to the sonic characteristics of the words over their semantic meaning, a technique similar to a general post-war tendency to treat texts as repositories of vocal sounds. Another consequence of his choice of Erasmian pronunciation is that he uses Latin characters for the text, instead of the original Greek. Taken together with the fact that he writes the title of the work, *Epiklesis*, only in English, this leads to another observation: that Sicilianos was aiming at the internationalisation of his music and at the possibility of a dialogue on equal terms with the international avant-garde.

Following his adoption of modernist idioms in the mid-1950s, Sicilianos began to see himself as a member of the international community of modern music. At the same time, there was a growing tendency in Greece to emphasise the potential of ancient tragedy to promote internationalisation.[30] Interestingly, at about the same time Sicilianos began to make reference to the universality and timelessness of ancient Greek art, a theme to which he would return often in his texts from then on; '[το] κλασσικό γενικά πνεύμα [...] με την αντικειμενικότητα που το διακρίνει, παραμένει πάντα μια ύλη αιώνια και, γι' αυτό ακριβώς, εύπλαστη και προσαρμόσιμη σε κάθε συγκεκριμένη πραγματικότητα, σ' όλους τους λαούς και σ' όλες τις εποχές' (the classical spirit in general [...] and the objectivity that pervades it, remain always an eternal substance and, for this exact reason, malleable and adaptable to any specific reality, in every people and in all ages).[31] It was, in other words, those very qualities of ancient Greek art that enabled Sicilianos to converse on equal terms with the international avant-garde, at least as he saw it. Here is how he summarised his thoughts on the issue:

> [αυτές είναι] μερικές σκέψεις για το πώς και ως ποιο βαθμό ένας σύγχρονος μουσικός θα μπορούσε, κατά την γνώμη μου, να αντλήσει έμπνευση και νέες ιδέες από μια νεκρή πια σήμερα γλώσσα, χρησιμοποιώντας δεδομένα, που στην ελληνική αρχαιότητα διαμόρφωσαν κανόνες, με την εφαρμογή των οποίων γράφηκαν αριστουργήματα που επί

Ōra, September 1971 – August 1972), 210. Reprinted in an enriched version (date: February 1999) as 'Anazētōntas tē chamenē mousikē paradosē tēs archaias ellēnikēs Tragōdias' (In Search of the Lost Musical Tradition of Ancient Greek Tragedy), in *Giōrgos Sisilianos. O synthetēs stēn prōtoporia tēs sygchronēs mousikēs*, 83–89 and in Sisilianos, *Gia tē Mousikē*, 375–385.

[30] Chardas, 'Archaioprepeis kai sygchrones afēgēseis pros mia "pankosmia" antilēpsē tou tragikou: Ē mousikē gia parastaseis archaiou dramatos tēs dekaetias tou 1950 tōn Y. A. Papaiōannou kai Y. Sicilianou' (Archaic and Contemporary Narratives towards a 'Universal' Perception of the Tragic: The Music of Y. A. Papaioannou and Y. Sicilianos for Ancient Drama Stagings in the 50's), in Giōrgos Vlastos (ed.), *Ellēnikē mousikē dēmiourgia tou 20ou aiōna gia to lyriko theatro kai alles parastatikes technes*, 152.

[31] Sisilianos, Programme note for *The Bacchantes*, Op. 19 No. 2, in the Programme of the Athens State Orchestra, Athens, 11 January 1960, reprinted in Christopoulou, *Katalogos ergōn Giōrgou Sisilianou*, 61–62.

2.500 χρόνια ολόκληρη η πολιτισμένη ανθρωπότητα, εξακολουθεί να τα δέχεται με αμείωτο θαυμασμό.[32]

[those are] some thoughts about how and to what extent a contemporary musician could, in my opinion, draw inspiration and new ideas from a dead language, using material that in Greek antiquity formed some rules under which masterpieces were written that, for the last 2.500 years, have been received with undiminished admiration by the whole civilised world.

In the Concerto for Orchestra, in which he experimented for the first time with the twelve-note technique, he aimed at rendering the 'Spirit of Tragedy' by using essential features of musical modernism, mainly developed in the works of the composers of the Second Viennese School and of Béla Bartók. From that moment on, Greek antiquity was to become a recurring theme in the evolution of his work, and, as his musical language evolved, so did his treatment of ancient Greek themes. During the first phase of his second period, in combination with his experiments with twelve-note technique, Sicilianos used references to folk material, which functioned as an element of continuity between past and present. During the second phase, which coincided with his use of serial techniques and the internationalisation of the Greek modernist trend, such references to folk material are completely absent, and Sicilianos aimed at a more organic connection between ancient Greek texts and his musical language. However, while his treatment of ancient Greek themes evolved, his belief in the universality and timeless qualities of the ancient Greek heritage remained a constant, thus providing the main common thread between Greek antiquity and a mode of musical experience that, as Sicilianos saw it through his modernist perspective, is also universal and timeless.

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[32] Sisilianos, 'Anazētōntas tē chamenē mousikē paradosē tēs archaias ellēnikēs Tragōdias', in *Giōrgos Sisilianos. O synthetēs stēn prōtoporia tēs sygchronēs mousikēs*, 89.

The Reception of Greek Antiquity
in the Music of Dimitris Dragatakis

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ABSTRACT: Dimitris Dragatakis's (1914–2001) output includes a considerable amount of works relating to Greek antiquity, which can be categorised into two groups. The first one includes mainly incidental music for ancient Greek tragedies (*Medea*, *Antigone*, *The Heracleidae*, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, *Electra*). The second group comprises various works (stage, vocal and symphonic music) connected with Greek mythology, which employ a new text or script. Dragatakis considered the traditional music of Epirus – his birthplace – to be a direct descendant of ancient Greek music. He believed that pentatonic scales, repeated motifs, pedals and an overall quality of simplicity, with which he was familiar through traditional songs and sounds of Epirus, are elements that successfully frame the dramatic texture of ancient drama. This paper summarises the results of my research on the importance of the traditional music of Epirus for Dragatakis's aforementioned groups of works but also for his entire work, as well as the connections of his music with Greek antiquity. The musical styles of other Greek composers' works written for stagings of ancient Greek dramas from the early twentieth century until the 1970s are also presented briefly.

The works of Dimitris Dragatakis (1914–2001) first appeared on the scene of Greek art music in 1958, when he was awarded a distinction at the First Panhellenic Composition Contest of the Greek Composers' Union for his work String Quartet No. 1. At that time he was forty-three years old and had recently completed his studies in Counterpoint and Fugue, in 1955, and was already a member of the Greek National Opera Orchestra as a viola performer. His relation with Greek antiquity started six years later, in 1964, when he wrote the Ballet Suite No. 2 *Odysseas kai Nausika* (Ulysses and Nausicaa).[1] From 1968 until 1973 he wrote music for summer performances of ancient Greek dramas at the Athens and the Epidaurus Festivals.[2] This experience played an important role in his future development. Dragatakis himself declared that: Όλοι οι Έλληνες συνθέτες λίγο-πολύ περάσαμε από αυτή τη δοκιμασία γιατί πραγματικά η τραγωδία είναι ένα μεγάλο σχολείο. Σε εμένα είχε μια

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[1] First Prize at the Musical Section of the Panhellenic Competition of Ballet, organised by the Ellēniko Chorodrama (Hellenic Choreodrama), the Periēgētikē Leschē (Touring Club) and the Greek periodical *Tachydromos* (1965). Dragatakis's music was written on a script of Kōstoula Mētropoulou (Second prize at the Script Section of the same Competition).

[2] This period of Dragatakis's work is explained in detail in: Magdalēnē Kalopana, 'Ē skēnikē mousikē tou Dēmētrē Dragatakē kai ē sēmasia tēs mesa sto ergo tou' (The Stage Music of Dimitris Dragatakis and its Importance within his Work), in Giōrgos Vlastos (ed.), *Ellēnikē mousikē dēmiourgia tou 20ou aiōna gia to lyriko theatro kai alles parastatikes technes. Praktika synedriou* (Greek Twentieth-century Musical Output for The Lyric Theatre and Other Performing Arts. Conference Proceedings) (Athens: The Friends of Music Society, 2009), 192–199 <http://www.mmb.org.gr/files/2010/Πρακτικά%20Συνεδρίου.pdf>, accessed 24 October 2013.

μεγάλη επίδραση αυτή η αληθινή δοκιμασία, και σε άλλα έργα μου μετά' (All Greek composers – more or less – went through this trial, because, in fact, tragedy is a great school. This genuine trial had a great impact on me, as well as on some other works of mine subsequently).[3]

Dragatakis's connection to ancient drama coincided with a flourishing period for ancient drama in Greece (1955–*c.*1979),[4] when many Greek composers were writing music for ancient Greek performances, both tragedies and comedies. I will indicatively refer to Mihalis Adamis (1929–2013), Manos Hadjidakis (1925–1994), Stephanos Vasileiadēs (1933–2004), Stephanos Gazouleas (b. 1931) and Antiochos Evanghelatos (1903–1981),[5] active in the same period as Dragatakis (1968–1973), not to mention Yorgos Sicilianos (1920–2005), Jani Christou (1926–1970), Iannis Xenakis (1921–2001), Mikis Theodorakis (b. 1925) and Theodore Antoniou (b. 1935)[6] before and after the period in question.

Music, like all aspects of the representation of ancient drama in modern Greece, was considered through many different approaches,[7] that can be divided in two phases. At the end of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth, the music played was either by Western composers, such as Mendelssohn,[8] or by Greeks[9] who were primarily

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[3] Interview of Dragatakis to Stephanos Vasileiadēs, 'Entechnē ellēnikē mousikē' (Greek Art Music), First Radio Programme of the Hellenic Broadcasting Corporation, 20 April 1984, 22.00–23.00, D. Dragatakis's private archive. The original in the tapes archive of the Hellenic Broadcasting Corporation has been erased.

[4] After World War II there was a growing interest in performances of ancient Greek dramas in ancient theatres. The establishment of the Epidaurus Festival in 1954 (that later became part of the Athens Festival) which mainly included performances of the National Greek Theatre – at least until 1974 – and the operation of many other theatre groups performing Greek tragedies gave Greek composers many opportunities to deal with ancient drama, exploring many aspects of music and of its connection with dialogue and acting. Andriana Soulele, 'Ē epirroē tēs ellēnikēs mousikēs paradosēs stē skēnikē mousikē gia archaia tragōdia meta ton B' Pankosmio Polemo' (The Influence of the Greek Musical Tradition on the Stage Music for Ancient Tragedy after World War II), in Vlastos (ed.), *Ellēnikē mousikē dēmiourgia tou 20ou aiōna*, 133–145.

[5] M. Adamis: *Iphigenia in Aulis* (1970); M. Hadjidakis: *Lysistrata* (1957; the first performance in the period under consideration was in 1968) and *Batrachoi* (The Frogs, 1959; also performed in 1973 and 1974); St. Vasileiadēs: *Bakches* (The Bacchantes, 1969), *The Trachiniae* (1970), *The Persians* (1971), *The Oresteia: Agamemnon, The Libation Bearers, Eumenides* (1972), *Oidipous tyrannos* (Oedipus the King, 1973); St. Gazouleas: *Trōades* (The Trojan Women, 1968), *Hippolytus* (1973); and Ant. Evanghelatos: *Electra* (Euripides, 1969). See the Digital Archive of the National Theatre of Greece (<http://www.n-t.gr/el/archive/>), regarding the decades of 1960 and 1970.

[6] Y. Sicilianos: *Heraklēs Mainomenos* (The Madness of Herakles, 1960); J. Christou: *Promētheas desmōtēs* (Prometheus Bound, 1963), *Agamemnon* (1965); I. Xenakis: *Hiketides: Les Suppliantes d'Eschyle* (The Suppliants, 1964), *A Hélène* (1977); M. Theodorakis: *Phoinisses* (Phoenician Women, 1960), *Aias* (Ajax, 1961), *Trōades* (Trojan Women, 1965); and Th. Antoniou: *Philoctetes* (1967), *Oedipus at Colonus* (1975). Ibid.

[7] Tasos Lignadēs, 'Provlēmatismoi panō se synchrones parastaseis tou archaiou dramatos' (Speculations on Modern Performances of Ancient Drama), in Daniella Ambrosino et al. (eds.), *Diethnēs synantēsē archaiou ellēnikou dramatos. Delphoi 8–12 Apriliou 1984, Delphoi 4–25 Iouniou 1985* (International Meeting of Ancient Greek Drama, Delphi 8–12 April 1984, Delphi 4–25 June 1985) (Athens: European Cultural Centre of Delphi, 1987), 191–201 and Aristoxenos Skiadas, 'To archaio ellēniko drama stē synchronē skēnē' (Ancient Greek Drama on Modern Stage), in Daniella Ambrosino et al. (eds.), *Diethnēs synantēsē archaiou ellēnikou dramatos*, 286–293.

[8] His stage music for *Antigone* (Sophocles), Op. 55, was used for the performance of the tragedy in Constantinople in 1900. Charēs Xanthoudakēs, 'O Geōrgios Pachtikos kai ē mousikē gia to archaio ellēniko drama' (Giōrgos Pachtikos and Music for Ancient Greek Drama), in Platōn Mauromoustakos (ed.), *Parastaseis*

concerned with the poetic rhythm, for instance Joannes Theophrastos Sakellarides.[10] The plays were performed as a rule in ancient Greek. Being a philologist was more important than being a musician.[11] After World War II the approach to ancient Greek drama performances changed; actors and directors[12] tended to come closer to the real dramatic substance of each ancient play, avoiding the formalistic and sterile concept of the first performances. To achieve this they made ancient dramas comprehensible to the public using translations of the ancient plays, and often permitted the composers and stage designers to apply contemporary ideas; but they also retained ties with Greek antiquity through various elements of costuming, scenery and acting. As concerns music, composers progressively came up with a modern musical language, combining elements of traditional Greek or Byzantine music. A similar use of traditional music already existed in Kōnstantinos Psachos's[13] works *Prometheus* (1927) and *Iketides* (The Suppliants, 1930), and then following War World II such employment of traditional music became more commonplace. Thus modern Greek composers maintained a connection both with the past and with their contemporary music. At this point, special mention should be made of the theory concerning the 'continuity' of Greek music from ancient Greece to the traditional music of the nineteenth century, owing to Louis Bourgault-Ducoudray.[14] An important figure in

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archaiou ellēnikou dramatos stēn Eurōpē kata tous neoterous chronous: G' Diethnēs epistēmonikē synantēsē, Kerkyra 4, 5, 6 Apriliou 1997 (Productions of Ancient Greek Drama in Europe during Modern Times. Third International Scientific Meeting, Corfu 4, 5, 6 April 1997) (Athens: Kastaniōtēs, 1999), 45–51. For the first performance of *Antigone* in Constantinople (1863), music was commissioned to Gaetano Foschini (1836–1908). Kaitē Rōmanou, *Entechnē ellēnikē mousikē stous neoterous chronous* (Greek Art Music in Recent Years) (Athens: Koultoura, 2006), 105.

[9] Giōrgos Pachtikos, Joannes Theophrastos Sakellarides, Themistoklēs Polykratēs, Loudovikos Spinellēs, Iōsēf Kaisarēs, Napoleon Lambelet, Dionyssios Lavrangas, Petros Zachariadēs. Rōmanou, *Entechnē ellēnikē mousikē stous neoterous chronous,* 120–121.

[10] Joannes Theophrastos Sakellarides (1853–1938) wrote music for *Antigone* (Sophocles) presented at the first modern Olympic Games (Athens, 1896). Kaitē Rōmanou, Maria Barbakē, and Fōtēs Mousoulidēs, *Ē ellēnikē mousikē stous Olympiakous Agōnes kai tis Olympiades (1858–1896)* (Greek Music at the Olympic Games and the Olympiads (1858–1896)) (Athens: Ministry of Culture, 2004), 24. Based on the prosodic intonation of the ancient Greek language (put forward by Geōrgios Mistriōtēs) he used a musical idiom that carried traditional Greek, Byzantine and European music elements.

[11] Note the relevant cases of Geōrgios Mistriōtēs (1840–1916, Professor of Greek Literature at the University of Athens and founder of the Association for the Staging of Ancient Greek Drama, 1895) and Giōrgos Pachtikos (1869–1916, philologist, ethnomusicologist and composer) who triggered the contemporaneous interest in ancient tragedy.

[12] Such as Phōtos Politēs (1890–1934, writer and director), Dēmētrēs Rontērēs (1899–1981, actor and director) and Alexēs Minōtēs (1898–1990, actor and director).

[13] Kōnstantinos Psachos (1866/69–1949), cooperating with Angelos Sikelianos and Eva Palmer-Sikelianou for the Delphic Festivals of 1927 and 1930, wrote music for *Prometheus* and *The Suppliants* respectively, being very close to Byzantine music. Anastasia Siōpsē, 'Ptyches tēs neoellēnikēs physiognōmias mesa apo to rolo tēs mousikēs se anaviōseis tou archaiou dramatos tis prōtes dekaeties tou eikostou aiōna (1900–1940)' (Aspects of Modern Greek Cultural Physiognomy through the Role of Music in Representations of Ancient Drama during the First Decades of the Twentieth Century (1900–1940)), in Vlastos (ed.), *Ellēnikē mousikē dēmiourgia tou 20ou aiōna*, 112–126.

[14] Xanthoudakēs, 'O Geōrgios Pachtikos kai ē mousikē gia to archaio ellēniko drama', 45–51. French composer and musicologist Louis Bourgault-Ducoudray (1840–1910) collected and studied popular music of Greece and Brittany. Elaine Brody and Richard Langham Smith, 'Bourgault-Ducoudray, Louis (Albert)', in *Grove Music*

European and Greek Music at the beginning of the twentieth century, Bourgault-Ducoudray was almost completely forgotten afterwards. His theory, however, spread anonymously and has been very influential up to the present.[15] This 'continuity' thesis was applied with austerity and sterility in the first half of the century, while in the second half with freedom and fantasy.

After 1950, most Greek composers among them Dragatakis, seem to have constructed a stylised musical language for the ancient drama.[16] Such language draws on ancient and traditional Greek rhythms, ancient tetrachords,[17] traditional scales (the pentatonic being one of them) and traditional Greek instruments, such as the *santouri* (trapezoidal hammered dulcimer), the *clarino* (clarinet in C), the *souravli* (type of recorder) and others.[18] Moreover, Christou and Xenakis gave new perspectives to music for ancient drama, through their very personal ideas and techniques.[19]

Dragatakis's involvement with ancient drama had an impact on many of his works, not only those composed during the period he was writing stage music, but even many of his following pieces. More specifically, his works from 1964 on can be separated into two groups, revealing a dual relationship with ancient Greece: *external* in some of the works, *internal* in others. In the first case, reference to Greek antiquity is obvious, and is made through the work's title and text, which is either an ancient Greek tragedy or a modern play or script based on an ancient myth. In the second case, the inner connection with ancient

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Online <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/03719>, accessed 24 October 2013.

[15] Pachtikos was the first Greek composer to take advantage of the theory of 'continuity' (using, among other elements, Greek traditional scales in his stage music), thus laying the foundations for Greek art music in the recent years. Xanthoudakēs, 'O Geōrgios Pachtikos kai ē mousikē gia to archaio ellēniko drama', 45–51.

[16] Andriana Soulele, 'Ē mousikē gia to archaio ellēniko drama. Mia synenteuxē me ton synthetē Geōrgio Kouroupo' (Music for the Ancient Greek Drama. An Interview with the Composer George Couroupos), *Polyphonia*, 7 (autumn 2005), 147–170 and Theōdoros Antōniou, 'Graphontas mousikē gia to archaio drama' (Composing Music for the Ancient Drama), ed. Kōnstantinos Lygnos, *Antiphōnon*, 11 (2005), 32–37.

[17] 'In ancient Greek theory, a system of four notes, contained within the limits of a perfect 4th. It serves as a basis for melodic construction in much the same way as the hexachord functions in medieval polyphony and the major and minor scales in tonal music. […] In 20th-century theory, a set of four pitch classes. In *The Structure of Atonal Music* (1973), Allen Forte identified 29 possible tetrachords (plus inversional equivalents) available from the 12 notes of the tempered scale'. Ian Harwod, 'Tetrachord', in *Grove Music Online* <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27750>, accessed 24 October 2013. The term *tetrachord* in this text is used in a broad sense.

[18] Kōstas Chardas, 'Archaioprepeis kai synchrones aphēgēseis pros mia "pankosmia" antilēpsē tou tragikou: Ē mousikē gia parastaseis archaiou dramatos tēs dekaetias tou 1950 tōn G. A. Papaiōannou kai Y. Sisilianou' (Archaic and Modern Narrations towards a 'Universal' Perception of the Tragic: Music for Performances of Ancient Drama in the 1950s by Y. A. Papaioannou and Y. Sicilianos), in Vlastos (ed.), *Ellēnikē mousikē dēmiourgia tou 20ou aiōna*, 146–157.

[19] Jani Christou was the first to use magnetic tape in music for ancient tragedy together with voices (*Agamemnon,* 1965, spartito for piano and voices) and with instrumental ensemble (*Prometheus Bound*, 1963, final work for instrumental ensemble and voices). See the Digital Archive of the National Theatre of Greece <http://www.n-t.gr/el/archive/>. In his *Suppliants* (1964), Xenakis used a pre-type of the technique later named as 'arborescences' (δενδρώσεις). Makēs Solōmos, *Iannis Xenakēs: To sympan enos idiotypou dēmiourgou* (Iannis Xenakis: A Singular Creator's Universe) (Athens: Alexandria, 2008), 52–53.

Greece may be traced through musical elements that will be analysed later. Furthermore, in some of Dragatakis's works both types of connection can be traced.

Dragatakis's works, of different genres and for different ensembles, that have an *external* connection with Greek antiquity, can be divided into two parts. The first comprises sixteen works, indicated in the appended table in white cells,[20] written on ancient plays and texts (whole or fragments) or using musical material from works of this group. These works may be further categorised in the following categories/subcategories:[21] stage music for the theatre (*Medea* by Euripides, *Antigone* by Sophocles, *The Heracleidae* by Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* by Euripides and *Electra* by Sophocles); stage music for dance (Souita baletou ar. 4 *Pēnelopē ē Anamonē* (Ballet Suite No. 4 Penelope or Expectation) and Souita baletou ar. 5 *O choros tēs Nausikas* (Ballet Suite No. 5 The Dance of Nausicaa), both on script and text by *The Odyssey*); songs for choir *a capella* (*Erōt' anikēte* (Love Invincible) from Sophocles' *Antigone*, *O choros* (The Dance) from Euripides' *Heracleidae*); works for ensemble with voices (*Mythologias III* (Mythology's III), using a fragment of *Iphigenia in Tauris*, and *Mēdeias apoēchoi* (Medea's Reverberations), using fragments of *Medea*); electronic music (*Mythologias I* (Mythology's I) based on the music of Ballet Suite No. 5 and *Mythologias II* (Mythology's II) based on the music of *The Heracleidae*); works for solo piano (*Spoudē I* (Etude I) and *Spoudē II* (Etude II), both using themes of *Medea*); and a piece for mixed ensemble (*Chorikou scholion* (Choric's Commentary) with musical references to the stage music for *Medea*). Dragatakis uses the original ancient text in *Electra* and *Mythology's III*. Fragments of *The Odyssey* in ancient and in modern Greek are included in Ballet Suite No. 5, while in the rest of the mentioned works the composer prefers a translation of the original texts into modern Greek. Works without a text (*Mythology's I*, *Mythology's II* and *Choric's Commentary*) achieve a connection with Greek antiquity through relations with other works of the same group, as already mentioned.

In the second category of his works that obviously concern Greek antiquity, Dragatakis uses new texts or scenarios referring to ancient myths, that remain the primary stimuli of his compositions. There are seven works here, indicated in the appended table in grey cells: stage music for the theatre (*Ē epistrophē tou Odyssea* (The Return of Ulysses) by Dēmētrēs Siatopoulos, *Agamemnon* by Tasos Rousos, *Electra* by Giōrgos Arkas); stage music for dance (Souita baletou ar. 2 *Odysseas kai Nausika* (Ballet Suite No. 2 Ulysses and Nausicaa) on a script by Kōstoula Mētropoulou); incidental music (*Ēchos kai phōs/Sound and Light* on a script by Jean Baelen); an orchestral piece (Symphōnia ar. 5 *O peri ton Acheronta mythos* (Symphony No. 5 The Myth about Acheron)); and a work for voice and ensemble (*Anaphora stēn Ēlektra* (Reference to Electra) by T. Roussos). In the works *The Return of Ulysses*, *Reference to Electra* and *Agamemnon* the text used is in modern Greek. *Sound and Light* and

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[20] See the table at the end of this article.
[21] Categories and subcategories of Dragatakis's works are explained in detail in: Magdalēnē Kalopana, 'Katalogos ergōn Dēmētrē Dragatakē (1914–2001)' (Dimitris Dragatakis: Works Catalogue (1914–2001)), *Polyphonia*, 16 (spring 2010), 54–87.

Electra (by Giōrgos Arkas) use texts in the English language, while the works Ballet Suite No. 2 and Symphony No. 5 do not use any text; reference to ancient Greece is achieved through script in Ballet Suite No. 2 and via the composer's programme note in Symphony No. 5.[22]

Dragatakis's *internal* connection to Greek antiquity passes through his deep, paternal relation with the music of Epirus. The composer himself claimed: 'Στην Ήπειρο υπάρχουν ορισμένες σκάλες […] που έμειναν αναλλοίωτες, δηλαδή δεν επηρεάστηκαν ούτε από τους Τούρκους, ούτε από τους Ευρωπαίους, γιατί ήταν τα βουνά και δε μπορούσαν να περάσουν. […] Μην ξεχνάμε ότι εγώ είμαι από εκεί και είναι φυσικό να έχω επηρεαστεί από τα τραγούδια που πρόλαβα να ακούσω από τη μάνα μου […]' (In Epirus there exist some scales that […] have remained unchanged, meaning that they have not been influenced neither by the Turks nor by the Europeans, because of the mountains [of Epirus] which did not allow them in. […] Don't forget that I come from that area and I have naturally been influenced by the songs I had the chance to hear from my mother).[23] Contemporary musicologists do not agree on the existence of a direct connection between ancient Greek music and the traditional music of modern Greece,[24] although some maintain its existence.[25] The main characteristic of the music of Epirus,[26] seen also as a basic common element with ancient Greek music, is the use of the pentatonic anhemitonic scale, which is not usual in the rest of Greece.[27]

The use of the pentatonic scale in Dragatakis's music is frequent, not only in some of his works related with Greek antiquity, but also in others, mostly his early ones (*Petalouda* (Butterfly), for piano); also in those referring to Epirus (*Taxidi* (Passage), for choir a capella); and in cradle songs (*Enypnio* (In Sleep), *Tachtarisma* (Dandling Song)*,* for voice and piano). In these works, Dragatakis uses pentatonic melodies with an accompaniment made mainly of

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[22] 'Το έργο αυτό […] είναι επηρεασμένο από τον μύθο του Αχέροντα (την πορεία των ψυχών προς την λύτρωση). […] Στο τρίτο μέρος, τη δραματική κορύφωση της ανθρώπινης τραγωδίας, γίνεται μια τομή […] το τμήμα αυτό έχει πιο πολύ χαρακτήρα χορού αρχαίας τραγωδίας με συνεχείς επικλήσεις από τα χάλκινα' (This work […] is influenced by the myth of Acheron (the route of souls towards redemption). […] In the third movement, [that expresses] the dramatic culmination of human tragedy, there is a break […] this section has rather the character of the chorus of an ancient tragedy, using continuous invocations by the brass). Dragatakis's note in the programme of the first performance of Symphony No. 5 (The Athens State Orchestra conducted by Giannēs Iōannidēs, Pallas Concert Hall, 13 December 1982).

[23] Despoina Kountē, 'Dēmētrēs Dragatakēs' (Dimitris Dragatakis), *Rizospastēs*, 20 April 1986, 4–5.

[24] 'Theories about the ancient roots of Greek traditional music are largely hypothetical'. Sotirios Chianis and Rudolph M. Brandl, 'Greece, §IV: Traditional Music', in *Grove Music Online* <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11694>, accessed 24 October 2013.

[25] Foivos Anōgeianakēs, *Ellēnika laika mousika organa* (Greek Popular Musical Instruments) (Athens: Melissa, 1991), 15–27, and Athena Katsanevaki, 'Vlach-speaking Vocal Music in the Western Balkans: An Introductory Note', *Newsletter of the Society Farsarotul,* XXIV/1–2 (fall 2009/spring 2010) and XXV/1–2 (fall 2010/spring 2011) <http://www.farsarotul.org/NL31_3.htm>, accessed 24 October 2013.

[26] 'In the areas of Greek, Vlach and Albanian settlement, Vlach influences (*doina*) can be found in the shape of pentatonics and tonality in 5ths': Chianis and Brandl, 'Greece, §IV: Traditional Music'.

[27] Athēna Katsanevakē, 'Vlachophōna kai ellēnophōna tragoudia tēs periochēs tēs Voreiou Pindou' (Songs in Vlach and Greek from the region of North Pindus), Ph.D. diss. (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1998), 188–204.

the same notes, used harmonically. *Passage* (Example 1) and *Dandling Song* (Example 2) are purely pentatonic.

Example 1.[28] *Passage* (poem by Giōrgos Kotzioulas), for choir a cappella, 1980, bb. 1–9

Example 2. *Dandling Song*, for voice and piano, n.d., bb. 5–10

On the contrary, in *Butterfly* (Example 3) the opening minor pentatonic scale[29] used in the main theme is subsequently enriched with other notes, that turn it into a diatonic major scale. Moreover, in *In Sleep* (Example 4) the pentatonic part (bb. 1–17) is followed by another (bb. 18–48) – written in modern style (atonal harmony, minimalist and improvisational elements) – but comes again in the end (bb. 49–78), to close the piece. In these two works the pentatonic material is elaborated in combination with other elements (diatonic or atonal) in contrast to the previously mentioned works (*Passage*, *Dandling Song*).

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[28] Musical examples 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 15 derive from the composer's manuscripts held in the D. Dragatakis Archive (Responsible Musicologist: Magdalinē Kalopana), and are used by kind permission of his daughter, Valia Dragatakē-Korōnidē.

[29] In this text, a pentatonic scale is considered as minor if it begins with a minor third (for example: a-c-d-e-g) and major, if it starts with a major second (c-d-e-g-a).

Example 3. *Butterfly*, for piano, n.d., bb. 1–11[30]

Example 4. *In Sleep* (D. Dragatakis)*,* for voice and piano, 2000, bb. 1–23

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[30] Dimitris Dragatakis, *Complete Solo Piano Works,* ed. Lorenda Ramou (Athens: Philippos Nakas Music House, 2008), 5. Used by kind permission of the publisher.

The pentatonic scale is also applied in Dragatakis's works obviously related with Greek antiquity. In *Medea*, in the third stasimon (Example 5) a pentatonic theme is used, based on the E minor pentatonic scale, which is also elaborated, even more prominently, in *Etude II* for piano (Example 6). Here the composer uses all five notes of the pentatonic scale (e'-g'-a'-b'-d''), adding a semitone (c'' sharp) before the last note, which operates as an appoggiatura in both works. The elaboration of the theme, same for both works (*Medea* (oboe, English horn, bb. 1–4) and *Etude II* (bb. 6–9): b'-d''-b'-c'' sharp-b'-g'-e'-a'-b'), includes modulations to other tonal contexts (*Medea* (oboe, bb. 7–10): f' sharp-a'-f' sharp-a'-f' sharp) and rhythmic and melodic variations, while maintaining the first notes of the theme (*Etude II* (b. 27): b flat-d'-b flat).

Example 5. *Medea* (Euripides), 1968. Third stasimon, bb. 21–30

bb. 6–9

bb. 27–28

Example 6. *Etude II*, for piano, 1981, bb. 6–9, 27–28[31]

In *The Return of Ulysses* (Example 7) the main theme consists of three notes, presented in added descending fifths (flute, part 3, bb. 9–10: d'''-g''-c'') that coincide with the first notes of the major pentatonic C scale (c''-d''-(e'')-g''). This three-note theme is transformed in the fifth part of the work into: f'' sharp-c''-g' (in added descending fourths), by reversing the order of the first two notes; the scale produced is: c''-f'' sharp-g'', that includes an increased forth and a semitone, and is no longer a pentatonic scale. This is another kind of transformation of the pentatonic elements that Dragatakis uses in his works.

Part 3, bb. 9–13

Part 5, bb. 10–11 and 15–16

Example 7. *The Return of Ulysses* (D. Siatopoulos)*, 1968, Part 3, bb. 9–13; Part 5, bb. 10–11, 15–16

The plainness of the pentatonic scale (five notes) and even more its elliptical use by Dragatakis (three or four of the five notes) is also customary in the traditional music of Epirus, which has been a major influence on the composer. Samuel Baud-Bovy cites two songs of Epirus made with just three of the beginning notes (d'-f'-g') of a minor pentatonic scale (d'-f'-g'-a'-c''), mainly ascending in the first song (*Gamēlios choreutikos skopos* (Bridal Dancing Melody))[32] and descending in the second one (*Deropolitissa* (Citizen of Deropoli)).[33]

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[31] Ibid. 55, 56. Used by kind permission of the publisher.

[32] Samuel Baud-Bovy, *Dokimio gia to ellēniko dēmotiko tragoudi* (Essay on Greek Traditional Song) (Nafplio: Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation, 1994), 129.

This elliptical use of the pentatonic scale, showing 'a preference to the interval of perfect fourth, refers probably to the ancient Greek tetrachords'.[34]

Consequently, the partial use of the pentatonic scale by Dragatakis, rooted in the traditional songs the composer heard in Epirus, acts as an inspiration, leading him progressively to his most important technique: the use of tetrachords,[35] basic characteristic of ancient Greek Music. The composer usually does not prefer the exact ancient tetrachords, except in specific cases in which he wants to imply a truly 'archaic' acoustic environment, as in *Choric's Commentary* (Example 8), where the main theme (flute, bb. 1–4: g'-b' flat-a'-c''-g') is constructed on the lowest tetrachord of the Hypophrygian *tonos* (c''- b' flat- a'- g').[36]

Example 8. *Choric's Commentary*, for ensemble, 1993. First part (Adagio), bb. 1–10

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[33] Ibid. 141.

[34] Vasilēs Nitsiakos and Giōrgos Kokkōnēs, 'Gamēlia tragoudia tēs Aetomēlitsas: Ethimikē entaxē kai mousikologikos scholiasmos' (Bridal Songs of Aetomilitsa: Customary Incorporation and Musicological Annotation), in Vasilēs Nitsiakos (ed.), *Praktika epistēmonikou synedriou 'Ē eparchia Konitsas sto chōro kai ston chrono'* (Proceedings of the Conference 'Konitsa's Perfecture in Place and Time') (Konitsa: Pneumatiko Kentro Konitsas, 1996), 433–456.

[35] See footnote 17.

[36] Solon Michaelides, *The Music of Ancient Greece: An Encyclopaedia* (London: Faber & Faber, 1978), 328, 337.

As a rule, Dragatakis constructs his own tetrachords that are extended usually within a fourth of any kind (perfect, augmented, diminished), and include most of the times chromatic semitones. These tetrachords are in fact groups of four – rarely of three (trichords) or five (pentachords) – notes that are used by the composer to create a motif or a theme and many times its accompaniment also. Dragatakis structures his own tetrachords upon the needs of his music and uses them freely; no rules seem to determine his musical thinking.[37]

At the fourth stasimon of *The Heracleidae* (Example 9)*,* Dragatakis uses two conjunct tetrachords ((a): c'-d'(flat)-e' flat-f'; (b): e' flat-f'-g'-a' flat). The melody consists of two phrases (a, b) each one using one of these two tetrachords. The main melody is coupled in the chorus part in thirds and fifths; a dancing rhythm (3/8) is used, creating a traditional effect.

Example 9. *The Heracleidae* (Euripides), 1970. Fourth stasimon, bb. 19–43 (chorus part)

In the third stasimon of *Antigone* (Example 10) a conjunct trichord and a tetrachord are used (b-c' sharp-d', d'-e'-f' sharp-g'). Again the melody parts that correspond to each one of the two note groups are easily recognisable. Many kinds of harmonic intervals are used by the chorus to accompany the melody (seconds, thirds, fourths, fifths, sixths).

Example 10. *Antigone* (Sophocles), 1969. Third stasimon, bb. 5–11 (chorus part)

Sometimes Dragatakis even uses a group of five notes (pentachord); in the Ballet Suite No. 4 (Example 11), the main, repeated and singing melody 'θάλασσα με πίκρες και καημούς, θάλασσα, πικροθάλασσα' (sea with bitterness and pain, sea, bittersea) is based on two conjunct pentachords, each of which extends within a perfect fifth (g'-a'-b'-c''-d'', d'-

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[37] 'Απλά θέλω να γράφω ελεύθερα, διαλέγοντας κάθε φορά ό,τι μου ταιριάζει, χωρίς να γίνομαι δούλος του ενός ή του άλλου συστήματος' (I just want to compose freely, choosing each time the elements that suit me, without becoming a slave of one or another system). D. Dragatakis's Archive, interviews/discussions with Th. Antoniou (17 February 1985) and M. Kalopana (3 December 1998).

e'-f' sharp-g'-a'). Again different parts of the melody correspond to each pentachord. The plain, dancing rhythm (3/8) and accompaniment (seconds, thirds and fifths) have an archaic effect.

Example 11. Ballet Suite No. 4 *Penelope* or *Expectation*), 1969. Third part, bb. 1–32

Sometimes, tetrachords shrink into trichords; in *Electra* (Example 12), the first motif (part 1, bb. 2–3: d'-c' sharp-e' flat-d') extends within a purely chromatic group of three notes (c' sharp-d'-e' flat) and characterises the whole work. This three-note motif appears in various rhythmic values (part 1, b. 14), changes tonal position together with register (part 1, b. 15: g''-f'' sharp-a'' flat (-a' natural)), expands into a tetrachord (part 17, b. 16: e'-d' sharp-f'-e'-g' flat-f'), changes direction (part 17, bb. 6–7: a'' sharp-b''-c''', b''-c'''-d''' flat) or reappears in its original version many times throughout the work.

Part 1, bb. 2–3

Part 1, b. 14

Part 1, b. 15

Part 17, b. 16
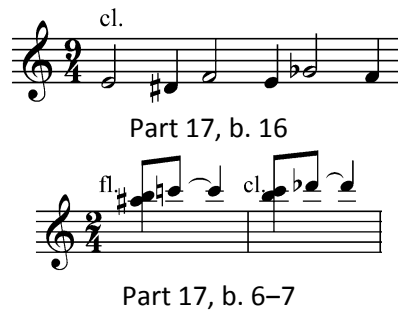
Part 17, b. 6–7

Example 12. *Electra* (Sophocles), 1973, Part 1, bb. 2–3, 14, 15; Part 17, bb. 16, 6–7

Finally, on some occasions, like in *Sound and Light* (Example 13), two similar (chromatic) tetrachords (or trichords) are used simultaneously in parallel movement, mainly in fifths and fourths, by the same (part 1, bb. 1–10) or different instruments (part 2, bb. 28–30). This technique characterises the whole work and is also broadly used in *Medea* (Euripides), *Etude II* and *Iphigenia in Tauris* (Euripides).

Part 1, bb. 1–10

Part 2, bb. 28–30

Example 13. *Sound and Light* (J. Baelen), 1972, Part 1, bb. 1–10; Part 2, bb. 28–30

The use of tetrachords is a common practice within Dragatakis's works and characterises his music, together with other elements (repeated rhythmic motifs, clarity and plainness). The tetrachords technique connects Dragatakis at the same time to his three main musical influences: ancient Greece, Epirus and the avant-garde. Epirus music was the means through which he became familiar with tetrachords and by hearing the most simple, pentatonic and archaic sounds, he also came close to the ancient Greek tetrachords, which he used in some of his previously mentioned works. Exploring the connection between tetrachords and contemporary music, I will refer to the pitch class sets of Allen Forte, structured also in tetrachords,[38] among other options (trichords, pentachords, hexachords and so on). It is probable that Dragatakis was not aware of this technique but he used his own tetrachords technique again in order to write modern music. In this case, the tetrachord is just a

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[38] Allen Forte, *The Structure of Atonal Music* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), 1–5, 179.

recognisable group of four notes (usually using dissonant and chromatic intervals) that can change in the course of the work, shifting to different pitches.

In Symphony No. 5, a mature work written in free atonal language, Dragatakis uses repeated rhythmic motifs built on chromatic tetrachords extended within a perfect fourth. A tetrachord of this kind (G–B flat–B natural–c) firstly appears in the bass clarinet in B (b. 134) and progressively spreads to almost all instrument groups, bringing the first part (Andante) to a climax, which ends in bar 149 (Example 14). In the third part of the work (Largo Adagio–Allegro–Largo Adagio), repeated motifs are based on smaller groups of three or even two notes and lead again to a climax. In the whole Symphony No. 5, which has a duration of twenty-six minutes, there is no other characteristic melodic motif, apart from these chromatic trichords and tetrachords. What makes their use quite interesting is the great rhythmic variety through which they are exploited: small or large durations, simple or complicated rhythms, short or extended rhythmic patterns.

Example 14. Symphony No. 5 (The Myth about Acheron), 1979–1980.
First part (Andante), bb. 143–148[39]

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[39] Dimitris Dragatakis, *Symphony No. 5 (or the Myth of Acheronta)* (Athens: Philippos Nakas Music House, 1998), 18. Used by kind permission of the publisher.

We find a similar use of atonal tetrachords in Dragatakis's next and last *Symphōnia ar. 6 To chreos* (Symphony No. 6 The Duty), written nine years later. Here one or two of the notes of the tetrachords are set up so as to create a large and dissonant interval. For example, the tetrachord: c'' sharp-d''-e''-f'' is used as: c'' sharp-d''-f''-e'''(second part, b. 79, flute) forming a seventh at the end. In the bars that follow, this tetrachord motif extends to the greatest part of the woodwinds and the piano, creating a climax (Example 15). This technique is common in Dragatakis's works written from 1980 onwards and is used more or less broadly (*Duo*, for clarinet and piano, 1981; Sonata for violoncello and piano, 1985; Concertino for santouri solo and orchestra, 1988; *En Samō* (In Samos), for flute and piano, 1998).

Example 15. Symphony No. 6 *The Duty*, 1989. Second part (Vivace), bb. 81–84

The path of Dragatakis's *internal* connection to Greek antiquity also passes through the aesthetic values of ancient Greek art, such as simplicity and balance. The Polycleitos'

Canon,[40] derived from Pythagoras' research into mathematical proportion,[41] which perfectly balances movement and position, is basically found in every achievement of ancient Greek art of the classical era (temples, sculptures, paintings). Plato wrote: 'The body of the universe was created to be at unity owing to proportion; in consequence it acquired concord'.[42] For instance, in Dragatakis's *Choric's Commentary* the analogy between the bars of the middle and the borderline parts is 1,505 (131/87) very close to 1,61, which expresses the Golden Ratio. The same analogy is found in Symphony No. 6 *The Duty*, where the climax of the fourth part gives the ratio 115/65= 1,76, close to the Golden one (1,61).

Similar analogies can be found in many of Dragatakis's works. What is a constant in his work, though, is the quality of plainness, the ability to make the most with less: the development of small and few rhythmic and melodic motifs and the use of a small number of sounds and techniques each time. Without being poor at any time, Dragatakis's music is substantial, giving no space to the unnecessary. This characteristic is also basic to ancient Greek and Epirus music. Thus, modern musicologists tend to believe that there is continuity, like an invisible Ariadne's thread, running between ancient Greek music, Epirus traditional music and the music of Dragatakis.[43] Common features are simplicity and balance, general, and, in particular, pentatonic scales, tetrachords and also pedal notes and ostinatos.[44]

In conclusion, it must be said that stage and incidental music, and other works of Dragatakis based on ancient Greek dramas, are of great importance not only because of their artistic value, but also because of their influence on many of his other works. The style of these works and their various musical characteristics were developed within the prominent trends for ancient drama in Greece of the Sixties and the Seventies. It so happened that these elements were familiar to Dragatakis, because of their similarity to the Epirus musical roots of the composer. This combination of ancient drama and traditional

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[40] Jo Marceau, *Art: A World History* (London: Dorling Kindersley, 1998), 63–64.

[41] Otherwise named as Golden Ratio/Section, Divine Proportion or phi (ϕ).

[42] Plato, *Timaeus,* trans. H.D.P. Lee (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), 44.

[43] Giōrgos Leōtsakos, 'Anaphora stē Symphōnia ar.6, "To Chreos" (1989), tou Dēmētrē Dragatakē' (Reference to Symphony No.6 "The Duty" (1989) of Dimitris Dragatakis), *Mousikologia*, 9 (1997), 207–210; Magdalini Kalopana, 'Foklore and Modernity in Greek Piano Music of the 20th century: The Case of D. Dragatakis (1914–2001)', in Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman, Sonja Marinković, and Miško Šuvaković (eds.), *Musical Foklore as a Vehicle?* (Belgrade: Faculty of Music, 2008), 179–195; and Giorgos Sakallieros, 'Aspects of Neoclassicism within Post-war Greek Musical Avant-garde: The Violin Concertos by Dimitri Dragatakis (1969), Yannis A. Papaioannou (1971) and Yorgos Sicilianos (1987)', in Costas Tsougras, Danae Stefanou, and Kostas Chardas (eds.), *Beyond the Centres: Musical Avant-gardes since 1950. Thessaloniki, 1-5 July 2010, Department of Music Studies, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Conference Proceedings* <http://btc.web.auth.gr/_assets/_papers/SAKALLIEROS.pdf>, accessed 24 October 2013.

[44] 'In the mainland of Greece (including Epirus) the main traditional ensemble – known as *koumpaneia* – uses ostinato figures in violin and laouto. Pedal (as a tonic drone) is also in common use as an accompaniment of the main melody, found in polyphonic songs of Epirus and in the music played by pairs of *zournas* (traditional double-reed instrument of Epirus); one sustains a tonic drone while the other interprets the melodic line with tonal inflections, slides and ornamental formulae'. Chianis and Brandl, 'Greece, §IV: Traditional Music'. In Dragatakis's mentioned works, ostinatos and pedal notes can be found in *In Sleep*, Symphony No. 5 and Symphony No. 6.

music of Epirus, together with prevalent modern music elements after the 1950s,[45] were catalysts for Dragatakis's output, shaping his very personal musical language.

Table of Dragatakis's works externally connected with Greek antiquity

Year of composition	Catalogue's Title	Text writer	Kalopana's Catalogue Number	Catalogue's subcategory
1964	Souita baletou ar. 2 *Odysseas kai Nausika* (Ballet Suite No. 2 Ulysses and Nausicaa)	Kōstoula Mētropoulou	17.3	Stage music (dance)
1968	*Mēdeia* (Medea)	Euripides (trans.)	16.1	Stage music (theatre)
1968[46]	*Ē epistrophē tou Odyssea* (The Return of Ulysses)	Dēmētrēs Siatopoulos	16.2	Stage music (theatre)
1968	*Anaphora stēn Ēlektra* (Reference to Electra)	Tasos Roussos	14.1	Work for voice and instrumental ensemble
1969	*Antigonē* (Antigone)	Sophocles (trans.)	16.3	Stage music (theatre)
[1969][47]	*Erōt' anikēte* (Love Invincible)	Sophocles (choral of the third stasimon of *Antigone*)	15.1	Work for choir *a capella*
1969	Souita baletou ar. 4 *Pēnelopē ē Anamonē* (Ballet Suite No. 4 Penelope or Expectation)	Homer (trans. – fragments of *The Odyssey*)	17.4	Stage music (dance)

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[45] Further information regarding the connection between Dragatakis and avant-garde music is presented in: Magdalini Kalopana, 'The Influence of Musical Avant-garde in the Works of Dimitris Dragatakis of the Late '50s and the '60s', in Tsougras, Stefanou, and Chardas (eds.), *Beyond the Centres* <http://btc.web.auth.gr/_assets/_papers/KALOPANA.pdf>, accessed 24 October 2013.

[46] Classification of works in the same year is explained in great detail in: Magdalēnē Kalopana, 'Dēmētrēs Dragatakēs: Katalogos ergōn' (Dimitris Dragatakis: Works Catalogue), Ph.D. diss. (University of Athens, 2008), 509–528.

[47] Due to lack of any other evidence, the dating of the choral song is based on the stage work from which it comes (*Antigone*, Sophocles, third stasimon).

1969	*Agamemnōn* (Agamemnon)	Tasos Roussos	16.4	Stage music (theatre)
1970	Souita baletou ar. 5 *O choros tēs Nausikas* (Ballet Suite No. 5 The Dance of Nausicaa)	Homer (parts of *The Odyssey* – original and trans.)	17.5	Stage music (dance)
1970[48]	*Mythologias I* (Mythology's I)	- (no text – based on the music of Ballet Suite No. 5)	19.1	Electronic music (tape)
1970	*Ērakleidai* (The Heracleidae)	Euripides (trans.)	16.5	Stage music (theatre)
1970[49]	*Mythologias II* (Mythology's II)	- (no text – based on the music of *The Heracleidae*)	19.2	Electronic music (tape)
[1970][50]	*O choros* (The Dance)	Euripides (choral of the fourth stasimon of *The Heracleidae*)	15.2	Work for choir *a cappella*
1971	*Iphigeneia en Taurois* (Iphigenia in Tauris)	Euripides (trans.)	16.6	Stage music (theatre)
1972	*Ēchos kai phōs / Sound and Light*[51]	Jean Baelen (about the Golden Age of Pericles)	18.3	Incidental music
1973	*Ēlektra* (Electra)	Sophocles	16.8	Stage music (theatre)
[1973]	*Electra*[52]	Giorgos Arkas	16.9	Stage music (theatre)
1979-80	Symphōnia ar. 5 *O peri ton Acheronta mythos*	- (relevant program note)	1.8	Work for orchestra

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[48] *Mythology's I* results from a sound studio processing of the recorded work Ballet Suite No. 5 (*The Dance of Nausicaa*) and – due to lack of any other date indication – is registered after the maternal work.

[49] Just like *Mythology's I*, the work *Mythology's II* comes from the sound processing of *The Heracleidae* (Euripides) and is registered after it.

[50] Conventional dating of the choral work *The Dance* (Euripides) using the year of composition of the stage music for *The Heracleidae* (Euripides) from which it comes (fourth stasimon).

[51] The work has two original titles, due to its incidental use.

[52] Original title of the work.

	(Symphony No. 5 The Myth about Acheron)			
1981	*Spoudē I* (Etude I)	- (theme from the third stasimon of *Medea*)	9.8	Work for piano
1981	*Spoudē II* (Etude II)	- (theme from the third stasimon of *Medea*)	9.9	Work for piano
1985	*Mythologias III* (Mythology's III)	Euripides (fragment of the second stasimon of *Iphigenia in Tauris*, in the original)	14.2	Work for voice and orchestra
1993	*Chorikou scholion* (Choric's Commentary)[53]	- (musical references to the fourth stasimon of *Medea*)	8.8	Work for (mixed) ensemble
1995	*Mēdeias apoēchoi* (Medea's Reverberations)	Euripides (trans. fragments of the second and the sixth stasimon of *Medea*)	14.5	Work for voices and instrumental ensemble

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[53] English title given by the composer.

VIII. INSPIRING EASTERN EUROPE

Nausicaa, Sappho and Other Women in Love:
Zoltán Kodály's Reception of Greek Antiquity (1906–1932)

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ABSTRACT: Zoltán Kodály showed a great interest in Greek antiquity throughout his life. Not only did he study the ancient Greek language thoroughly and read up on the different editions of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but he had also been planning an opera about the latter figure since 1906. Only one song survived from this opera plan, 'Nausikaa', written in 1907 to a poem by Kodály's former secret lover, Aranka Bálint. It was published only in 1925, at a time when Kodály, stimulated by the Hungarian writer Zsigmond Móricz and his new drama *Odüsszeusz bolyongásai* (The Wanderings of Odysseus, 1924), turned himself towards the Odysseus theme again. Though he abandoned the new plan of the opera soon, his desire to write music for the stage proved to be lasting. He finished his Singspiel *Háry János* in 1926, and his lyrical play, *Székely fonó* (The Transylvanian Spinning-Room) in 1932. Even contemporary critics recognised the similarity between the figures of the adventurer Háry and Odysseus, and they referred to Kodály's possible identification with the two heroes. A recent study investigated the role of the Young Man in *The Transylvanian Spinning-Room* from the same point of view.

My paper, however, examining Kodály's songs from his first mature period (1906–1923), first of all 'Nausikaa' and 'Sappho szerelmes éneke' (Sappho's Love Song, 1915), as well as the series of *Magyar népzene* (Hungarian Folk Music, 1924–1932), and the two plays for stage from the second period (1923–1945), scrutinises the role of the women in love in Kodály's œuvre. Kodály's songs introduce women who are lovelorn and for this reason feel defenceless. These female portraits are connected to one characteristic musical feature, the use of pentatony. Pentatony symbolises here for Kodály not 'Hungarianness', as usual, but the archaism of the ancient music and culture, on the one hand, and women's longing, on the other.

The young Zoltán Kodály was fascinated by the figure of the Phaiakian princess Nausicaa. Nevertheless, he wrote only one composition on this theme, the song 'Nausikaa', completed on 6 July 1907. It was based on a poem written by Kodály's girlfriend of youth, Aranka Bálint.[1] He probably planned to compose an orchestral piece with the title 'Nausikaa' as well, which would have been the counterpart of *Nyári este* (Summer Evening) finished in 1906.[2] He must have considered composing two other orchestral pictures, *Nausikaa* and *Circe,* sometime between 1916 and 1919, a fact we only know from references in Kodály's

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[1] Aranka Bálint refused to have her name printed as the author of the poem in the edition of 'Nausikaa' later. She also wanted to remain anonymous when she handed over to Bence Szabolcsi some Kodály manuscripts from her own property. Bence Szabolcsi, 'Három ismeretlen Kodály-dalról' (On Three Unknown Kodály-Songs), *Muzsika*, 13/8 (August 1970), 1–3.

[2] Tibor Tallián, 'Kodály Zoltán kalandozásai Ithakától a Székelyföldig' (Zoltán Kodály's Adventures from Ithaka to the Székelys), *Magyar Zene*, 56/3 (August 2008), 241.

notebook.[3] In addition, in 1924 the composer was asked by the Hungarian writer, Zsigmond Móricz (1879–1942) to write an opera based on his three-act drama, *Odüsszeusz bolyongásai* (The Wanderings of Odysseus).[4] The three acts presented three women in Odysseus' life: Nausicaa, Circe, and Penelope. Though the subject gave Kodály an opportunity to realise his dream of composing an opera related to ancient Greece, he did not set the play to music. All we know is that he wanted to insert the old song 'Nausikaa' in the first act.[5] Researchers of the composer's life emphasised from the beginning the importance of the figures of Odysseus and the three women in love for Kodály. Bence Szabolcsi suggested as early as 1926 that the hero in Kodály's 1926 completed Singspiel *Háry János* – himself an adventurer, a kind of Hungarian Odysseus – was the composer's spitting image.[6] Recently, Tibor Tallián pointed out that the Lover, another Hungarian Odysseus in *The Transylvanian Spinning-Room*, Kodály's lyric play completed in 1932, might be Kodály's equivalent as well.[7]

Kodály's identification with Odysseus made Tallián search for the sources of the female figures. He associated Penelope with Kodály's first wife, Emma; moreover, he argued that the chief female characters in Kodály's stage works, Örzse in *Háry* and the Housewife in *The Transylvanian Spinning-Room* were Emma's counterparts.[8] It speaks for itself that Kodály dedicated *Háry János* to his wife with the words: 'To my Örzse'. As no love affairs in Kodály's life are known after their marriage in 1910, the models of Nausicaa and Circe must be sought in an earlier stage of Kodály's life. Tallián is right to refer to the emotionally turbulent times around composing the song 'Nausikaa', 1906–1907, when Kodály had to choose from three women, Emma, Aranka, and the German actress, Eva Martersteig.[9] The situation proved to be so traumatic for the young composer that seventeen years later he was still inclined to compose an opera from Móricz's erotic drama focusing on men's right to sexual satisfaction and infidelity.[10]

During his Berlin journey of 1906–1907 Kodály kept a diary, which helps us reconstruct the events leading to the traumatic experiences and his final decision to choose Emma.[11] The other source of information on this period is the diary of Béla Balázs,[12] Kodály's closest friend at the time, who later became the librettist of Bartók's *A Kékszakállú herceg vára* (Bluebeard's Castle, 1911) and *A fából faragott kirányfi* (The Wooden Prince, 1914–1916). For that matter, it must have been the idea of the extrovert Balázs to bring the reserved

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[3] Ibid. 243.
[4] Zsigmond Móricz, *Drámák II* (Dramas II) (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1980), 593.
[5] Tallián, 'Kodály...', 242.
[6] Bence Szabolcsi, 'Háry János', in *Kodályról és Bartókról* (On Kodály and Bartók) (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1987), 64–70.
[7] Tallián, 'Kodály...', 240–241.
[8] Ibid. 244–245.
[9] Ibid. 242.
[10] Ibid. 242–243.
[11] Lajos Vargyas (ed.), *Kodály Zoltán: Közélet, vallomások, zeneélet. Hátrahagyott írások* (Kodály Zoltán: Public Life, Confessions, Music Life. Posthumous Writings) (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1989), 119–135.
[12] Béla Balázs, *Napló I. 1903–1914* (Diaries I. 1903–1914) (Budapest: Magvető, 1982).

Kodály to write a diary. For Balázs the genre of diary was a peculiar form of public – not private – literature in which the young and sensitive artist can formulate his ideas on life, philosophy, friendship and love, particularly his thoughts on friendship with Kodály and his love for Aranka Bálint. In addition to Aranka and Kodály, Balázs's closest circle of friends also included a second woman, Paula Hermann. All of them not only read the diary but expressed their opinion in letters and conversations as well.[13] Kodály's entries in his own diary and his travel diary written some months after his Berlin and Paris trip with the title *Voyage en Hongrie*[14] reflect unambiguously the influence of Balázs's style and attitude.

The central topic of their diaries was love: man's and, in connection with it, woman's love. Both of them described Berlin as an erotic town where the practice of free love raised no ethical questions as it had nothing to do with feelings.[15] Kodály, who looked for the 'true one', as Balázs put it,[16] must have suffered from this attitude, particularly when oblivious of his unclarified feelings for Emma and Aranka for a while, he fell in love with the Eva, portrayed by Balázs as a Circe.[17] She gave herself to Kodály but refrained from all romantic feelings ('Nur keine Sehnsucht haben, bitte' (Please, don't Yearn) – as she told Kodály).[18] In his diary entry dated 12 March 1907 Kodály tried to describe her personality but felt difficult to find the proper words, as the fragmentary wording reveals:

> Hogy járkel, mint egy vízió [...]. 'So kultiviert' a legkisebb mozdulata [...]. Talán a 'zur Natur gewordene Kultur' vonz benne. 'Schreckt dich das?' kérdezte, mikor elmondta, hogy lesbosi hajlandósága van. [...] Ősvonások benne. Mint az ultramodern szimfóniák agyonbogozott szálai közt egy-egy primitív melódia. [...] (A spirális fejlődés: a kultúra tetőpontjainak érintkezése a primitívséggel).[19]

> She walks around like a vision [...]. Her moving is 'so kultiviert' (so cultivated) [...]. Maybe her 'zur Natur gewordene Kultur' (culture that became her nature) attracts me [...]'Schreckt dich das?' (Doesn't it frighten you?), she asked me when she told me that she had a lesbian inclination too. [...]There are also some ancient features in her. Like some primitive melodies in the confused lines of ultramodern symphonies. [...] (The spiral evolution: when the peak of a culture communicates with the primitive).

It is evident that Eva represented for Kodály a high, sophisticated culture which does not reject its own ancient, primitive characteristics either. In his eyes she was a mixture of nature and refinement, archaism and modernity – a combination that was to become

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[13] Ibid. 286, 308, 336.

[14] Zoltán Kodály, *Voyage en Hongrie* (Budapest: Múzsák, n.d.).

[15] Balázs, *Napló*, 362–363, 403. See also Kodály's letter to Emma (22 December 1906) in Dezső Legány (ed.), *Kodály Zoltán levelei* (Zoltán Kodály's Letters) (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1982), 28–29.

[16] Balázs, *Napló*, 329.

[17] Ibid. 401.

[18] Vargyas, *Kodály*, 132–133.

[19] Ibid.

Kodály's main ideal some years later when it came to creating modern Hungarian music.[20] On the other hand, Emma and Aranka represented other ways of life as he had tried to formulate it some months before:

> Emma és Aranka közti különbség: mikor Arankát megkérdeztem, hogy tetszett a Camenzind: 'Hesse tanítvány és nem is a legjobb'. Ezt kezdte mondani. Emma pedig? nem is emlékszem, mit mondott. Aranka a reflexió, az utánagondolt gondolatok embere. Emme maga az őstermészet. [...] Nyelvalakító képessége kicsiny, azért öltözteto ezeket megtanult formákba. Csak ha mögé lát az ember ennek a nyelvnek, úgy látja meg. [...] Ő képtelen volna idegen gondolatot úgy 'átsajátítani' és beilleszteni magába, mint Aranka. Mindig emlékszik, kitől tanulta ezt vagy azt. Ezért sokat *idéz*, néha egészen közönséges emberek közönséges mondásait. [...] Igaz: egyik ok: Aranka fiatalabb, nem olyan lezárt.[21]

> The difference between Emma and Aranka: When I asked Aranka if she liked Camenzind, she began by saying: 'Hesse is only a follower, and not even the best.' And Emma? I don't even remember what she answered. Aranka is a person of reflections, she weighs carefully all ideas. Emma, however, is ancient nature herself. [...] Her language facility is limited; this is why she dresses [her thoughts] in learned formulas. If you disregard this language, you will understand [her]. [...] She would be unable to adopt foreign opinions like Aranka does. She always remembers whom she learned something from. As a result, she *quotes* much, sometimes absolutely ordinary thoughts from ordinary people. [...] Aranka is, to be true, much younger, she isn't mature yet.

While Aranka's main characteristics include reflexivity, receptivity, and immaturity, Emma figures in his entry as the embodiment of 'ancient nature'. Furthermore, Kodály's description of Emma strikingly resembles the way folk music works: peasant songs – words and melodies alike – are based on learned formulas that vary slightly at each new performance. The twenty-three-year-old Kodály, who wrote his doctoral thesis on the strophic structure of Hungarian folksongs in 1906, points to this feature of folksongs.[22] Moreover, peasants remember clearly who they learned the songs from: it is one of the most important information the collector has to ask.[23] Kodály mentioned this practice when he published the series *Magyar népzene* (Hungarian Folk Music) from 1924 on, and indicated who he had learned the given song from. So it is small wonder that Örzse and the Housewife, both Emma's counterparts in Kodály's stage works, sing, that means: they always quote folksongs to express their feelings.

Kodály's diary entries describe three basic types of women. It is, however, much more important to consider how Kodály discusses women in general. He is affected by these

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[20] Zoltán Kodály, 'Tizenhárom fiatal zeneszerző' (Thirteen Young Composers) in Ferenc Bónis (ed.), *Visszatekintés II. Kodály Zoltán összegyűjtött írásai, beszédei, nyilatkozatai* (In retrospect II. Zoltán Kodály's Collected Writings, Speeches, Declarations) (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1974), 392.

[21] Vargyas, *Kodály*, 122.

[22] Zoltán Kodály, 'A magyar népdal strófa-szerkezete' (The Strophic Structure of Hungarian Folk Song), in Bónis (ed.), *Visszatekintés*, 22–23.

[23] Béla Bartók, *Miért és hogyan gyűjtsünk népzenét? A zenei folklore törvénykönyve* (Why and How to Collect Folk Music?) (Budapest: Somló, 1936), 15. Modern edition: András Szőllősy (ed.), *Bartók Béla összegyűjtött írásai I* (Béla Bartók's Collected Writings I) (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1966), 592.

women but tries to speak about them with a kind of scientific objectivity. Women represent for him Otherness, a strange phenomenon full of mysteries to be solved. Women appear there as objects to be examined. As his *Voyage en Hongrie* reveals, the young Kodály grew attracted to peasant women, and the experiences gathered in the environment of peasants made him realise that women and the relationship between men and women played an equally crucial part in the peasant's world as they did in modern society. He was particularly sensitive to women who remained alone.[24]

Among his forty-one art songs, written between 1906 and 1926, there are, however, only two expressly women's songs, the above mentioned 'Nausikaa', and 'Sappho szerelmes éneke' (Sappho's Love Song) from 1917. In an additional song entitled 'Haja, haja' (Alas, Alas), the first strophe is written for a man, the second for a woman, while three further songs can be sung by men and women alike. The proportion of men's to women's songs in Kodály's series *Hungarian Folk Music* is much more balanced than among his art songs: the sixty-two folksongs of the collection comprise twenty-three women's and twenty-six men's songs, five songs for two performers (a man and a woman) and eight ones that can be sung by men and women alike. While women's songs focus mostly on women's love and loneliness, men's songs concentrate much more on the realities of everyday life: they are drinking songs, soldiers' songs or satirical songs. Men sing of love only in exceptional cases. The numerous soldiers' songs and women's songs about loneliness and despair suggest that fieldwork during World War I stirred again Kodály's interest in the relationship between men and women.

Kodály's art songs and folksong arrangements do not form traditional song cycles in the sequence they appeared in print (Table 1). The grouping of the songs is often surprising, indeed, particularly if we examine the dates of the pieces. Three early songs written to poems by Balázs, the cycle *Énekszó: dalok népi versekre* (Sixteen Songs on Hungarian Popular Words) Op. 1 (1907–1909), and three of the 1924 published *Négy dal* (Four Songs) were composed between 1906 and 1909. These songs constitute a thematically homogeneous group of works connected to events in the life of the circle around Balázs and Kodály. What is more, the composer's Op. 1, which is based on folk texts, is a kind of musical diary, the musical counterpart to Balázs's diary, in which a young man narrates the story of finding the 'true one'. The format and the make-up of the first edition suggest unambiguously a diary. In the texts there are direct references to Kodály's life. For example, the first song relates a situation in which a young man has to choose from three women. On the other hand, the thirteenth song reminds the listener of an event when a young man introduces his loved one to his best friend, and then the two fall in love with each other. The same incident is described in Balázs's diary: he had to witness how Kodály and his beloved Aranka fell for each other.[25]

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[24] Kodály, *Voyage en Hongrie*.
[25] Balázs, *Napló*, 319–320.

Három dal Balázs Béla verseire (Three Songs on poems by Béla Balázs), Op. posth., 1906–1907	For a man
Négy dal (Four Songs) (published in 1924), 1–3: 1907, 4: 1917	
1. 'Haja, haja' (Alas, Alas) (János Arany)	For a man and a woman
2. **'Nausikaa' (Aranka Bálint)**	**For a woman**
3. 'Mezei dal' (Meadow Song) (Aranka Bálint)	For a man or a woman
4. 'Fáj a szívem' (My Heart Aches) (Zsigmond Móricz)	For a man or a woman
Énekszó: dalok népi versekre (Sixteen Songs on Hungarian Popular Words) Op. 1, 1907–1909	For a man
Két ének (Two Songs), Op. 5, poems by Dániel Berzsenyi, Endre Ady, 1913–1916	For a man
Megkésett melódiák (Belated Melodies), Op. 6, poems by Dániel Berzsenyi (1–4), Ferenc Kölcsey (5–6), Mihály Csokonai Vitéz (7), 1912–1916	For a man
Öt dal (Five Songs), Op. 9, 1915–1918	
1. 'Ádám, hol vagy' (Adam, Where are You?) (Endre Ady)	For a man
2. **'Sappho szerelmes éneke' (Sappho's Love Song) (Endre Ady)**	**For a woman**
3. 'Éjjel' (Night) (Béla Balázs)	For a man
4. 'Kicsi virágom' (My Little Flower) (Béla Balázs)	For a man or a woman
5. 'Az erdő' (The Forest) (Béla Balázs)	For a man
Három ének (Three Songs), Op. 14, poems by Bálint Balassi (1), anonymous seventeenth-century poet (2–3), 1918–1926[26]	For a man

Table 1. Kodály's song cycles written between 1906 and 1926

While most songs composed at the time belong thematically to Kodály's musical diary, 'Nausikaa' does not fit into this group, even though it was written by Aranka. All other song texts of these years are either reflections of the style of Hungarian folksongs or actually authentic folk texts. By contrast, the poem *Nausikaa* has nothing to do with Hungarian folk style. The source of the simplicity of Kodály's setting lies in the simplicity of the poem. The

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[26] The dates 1924–1929 mentioned in: László Eősze, Mícheál Houlahan, and Philip Tacka, 'Kodály, Zoltán', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, xiii (2nd edn., London: MacMillan, 2001), 724 are incorrect. Kodály wrote Op. 14 between 1918 and 1924, and he orchestrated these songs in 1926. See Anna Dalos, 'Zoltán Kodály', in Ludwig Finscher (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Personenteil*, x (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004), 396.

second and third strophes repeat the melody of the first one, whereas the accompaniment is varied. As characteristic of Kodály, the piano transmits the feelings of Nausicaa. The music is almost without chromaticism; Nausicaa sings a diatonic melody coloured by slight references to pentatony (Example 1a). The song begins, however, with a pentatonic motto in the piano. A chromatic line only appears in the piano at the moment when Nausicaa loses her self-discipline on the mentioning of Odysseus's Ithaca in the third strophe. The chromaticism of Odysseus's memory upsets Nausicaa's diatonic-pentatonic balance (Example 1b).

Example 1a. Pentatonic motto in Kodály's 'Nausikaa'

Example 1b. Chromaticism in Kodály's 'Nausikaa', the beginning of the third strophe, bb. 1–5

The appearance of the pentatonic scale in the piano part, which can be the symbol of the innocence and instinctively radiating sensuality of Nausicaa (and perhaps Aranka) is, in fact, rare among Kodály's art songs in spite of the fact that the discovery of the pentatonic scale in Hungarian folk music around 1907 was a revelation for both Bartók and Kodály, as it powered the connection between ancient music cultures and Hungarian folk music.[27] The same pentatonic motto appears surprisingly in Kodály's 1917 setting of Endre Ady's free formulation of 'Sappho's Love Song' (surviving originally in Catullus' Latin translation) as if it were a quotation from 'Nausikaa'. There are also other points linking 'Sappho's Love Song'

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[27] Zoltán Kodály, 'Ötfokú hangsor a magyar népzenében' (Five-tone Scale in Hungarian Folk Music), in Bónis (ed.), *Visszatekintés*, 75.

with 'Nausikaa'. Kodály included the former in the cycle *Five Songs*, which contains – in addition to another Ady-setting 'Ádám, hol vagy?' (Adam, Where are You?) – the musical setting of Balázs's three poems as well: their partially folk style reminds us of the songs of 1906–1907. Moreover, the unique choice of the extremely passionate and erotic poem of the ancient Greek poetess – who is said to have had a 'lesbian inclination', as Kodály put it when describing Eva Martersteig, the Circe of his life – is an eloquent proof of Kodály's renewed interest in his artistic phase of ten years earlier and its central subject: love.

This is why 'Sappho's Love Song' can be interpreted as Eva's musical portrait. The pentatonic motto is hidden among the strophes. The first strophe begins and ends with the pentatonic formula (Example 2a), that returns at the beginning of the second strophe – although this strophe ends with its mistuned version – as well as in the third strophe. There the pentatonic formula may be the symbol of the 'ancient', the 'primitive' that appears at the peak of a highly-sophisticated culture, as Kodály wrote about Eva's personality. Nevertheless, 'Sappho's Love Song' is full of dissonances; pentatony is only one layer of the complex musical texture characterising the setting. By recalling the effect of plucking and arpeggios, the piano refers to the tone of the ancient *kithara*. But the instrument is subordinated to Sappho's emotions as if Sappho accompanied herself. The accompaniment changes right at the moment when Sappho – just like Nausicaa – loses the balance of her earlier state of mind by realising that she is lost. At this point Sappho, whose *kithara* normally plays in a key with six flats, even though it is full of chromaticism, sinks into an unorganised world without signatures (Example 2b). The regular tone of Sappho's *kithara* only returns at the end of the song.

Sappho's ancient Greece must have acted for Kodály as the paradigm of a sophisticated culture.[28] Ancient Greece appears in this context as an unattainable ideal, the Other, the object of one's desire. The Otherness of ancient Greece is for Kodály undoubtedly a parallel to women's mysterious Otherness. Kodály's musical description of Sappho's erotic and Nausicaa's innocent, yet definitely sensual love shows clearly that women rarely had the opportunity to express their feelings in the composer's *œuvre* outside Emma-Penelope's world, graced so emphatically with Hungarian tones. If they wanted to express themselves, they had to manifest themselves in Greek.
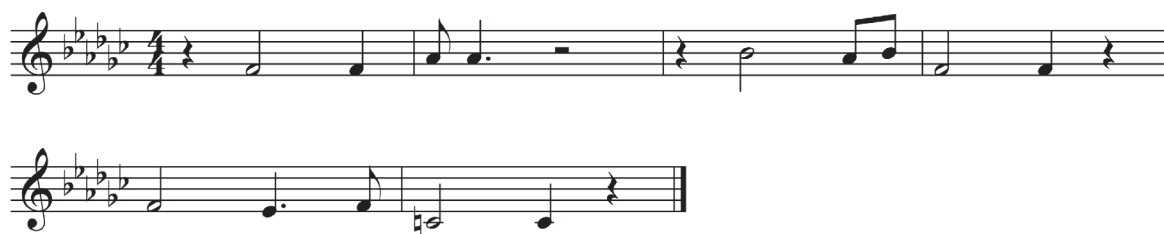
Example 2a. Pentatonic formula in Kodály's 'Sappho's Love Song'

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[28] See Ferenc Bónis's study: 'Székely fonó: avagy Kodály Homérosz útján' (The Transylvanian Spinning-Room: or Kodály on Homer's Way) *Hitel*, 15/12 (December 2002), 56.

Example 2b. Unorganised world without a key signature in Kodály's 'Sappho's Love Song', bb. 25–26
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Pan Goes Marching in *Style Hongrois*:
An Intertextual Analysis of *The Death of Pan* by Edmund Mihalovich

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ABSTRACT: This essay addresses stylistic influences on the symphonic poem *Pán halála* (The Death of Pan, 1898) written by the Hungarian romantic composer Ödön (Edmund) Mihalovich (1842–1929). The original Hungarian poem was written by Gyula Reviczky (1855–1889), the first modern poet of Hungarian literature. His poem follows the text of Plutarch, but Reviczky confronts both Dionysian and Christian moralities. Mihalovich's *Pan* employs a cyclic structure of several movements, a complex web of motifs, and various allusions. All this complexity is musically narrated in several movements by the *style hongrois*, a very unusual choice for the musical adaptation of the Pan myth. However, it is worth noting that Mihalovich's composition had a very good critical reception both in Budapest and Berlin. The death of Pan is not a tragic finale in Mihalovich's piece, but an organic step of the circulus vicious (described by Friedrich Nietzsche). This interpretation is supported by the similar motif of the erotic dance and the Christian hymn as well as the allusions to styles of several composers (such as Beethoven and Brahms) and the *style hongrois* of Pan's funeral march.

Introduction

This essay presents a special, Hungarian, *fin-de-siècle* interpretation of the myth of Pan through a symphonic poem by Ödön (Edmund) Mihalovich (1842–1929).[1] Mihalovich gives us a wide panorama of the ancient world, but provides no answer to the question: Who is Pan? In the course of my study I will search for the enigmatic identity of Mihalovich's Pan.

The analysis will cover the cyclic structure of the movements, the complex web of motifs, and the various allusions present in *Pán halála* (The Death of Pan, 1898) by Mihalovich. While the poem confronts a Hungarian literary tradition and Nietzsche's vision, the symphonic poem integrates the different musical layers of *style hongrois* and the Liszt-Wagner tradition. It is worth noting that Mihalovich's composition had a very good critical reception both in Budapest and Berlin.

The *Style Hongrois*

Eighteenth-century Hungarian music is characterised by monophonic folk songs, and the homophonic *verbunk* style, with a special minor scale (a prominent raised fourth and an

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[1] His Hungarian birth name was Ödön Péter József Mihalovich, but he used only one first name: Ödön. As he was an Austro-Hungarian citizen, he employed many times the German version of his name, Edmund von Mihalovich. Once, in the published score of his French symphonic poem *La Ronde du Sabbat* (Witches' Sabbath, 1878) he employed the French version of his name, Edmond de Mihalovich.

augmented second), dotted, pointed and triple rhythms (for example syncopation and dactylic), and two-part melody models (see Example 1).[2]

Example 1. A typical episode in *style hongrois*. Franz Liszt, *Hungaria*, bb. 79–86

Verbunk music was usually played by gypsies, which is why it is falsely called 'gypsy music'. The *style hongrois* was used by some composers as *couleur locale* that is in order to create an exotic tone, for example by Joseph Haydn in his Symphony No. 104, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart in his Violin Concerto in A major, or Franz Schubert in his Unfinished Symphony in B minor.[3]

Being a regular visitor to Hungary, Ludwig van Beethoven became acquainted with *style hongrois* music through János Bihari, the famous Hungarian gypsy violinist and *verbunk* composer.[4] Through its reception by Beethoven the *style hongrois* became the important musical element of three topics: the funeral march, heroism, and the exotic entertaining. In his Symphony No. 3 Beethoven applied the *style hongrois* in the funeral march (second movement), while in the fourth movement he used it in order to express heroism (see Example 2).[5]

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[2] *Verbunkos* is an eighteenth-century Hungarian dance and music genre. The name is derived from the German word *werben*, that means, in particular, 'to enrol in the army'. Thus the *verbunkos* was a type of recruitment music and dance (called *csárdás* – czardas). The *verbunk* elements also express the so-called *style hongrois*.
See Jonathan Bellman, *The Style Hongrois in the Music of Western Europe* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993), 13–14.
[3] Bence Szabolcsi, *A Concise History of Hungarian Music*, ed. György Kroó, trans. Sára Karig and Fred Macnicol (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1974), 56; Michael Steinberg, *The Symphony: A Listeners Guide* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 247.
[4] Ferenc Bónis, *Mozarttól Bartókig: írások a magyar zenéről* (From Mozart to Bartók: Studies of Hungarian Music) (Budapest: Püski Press, 2000), 33.
[5] Ibid. 47.

A.
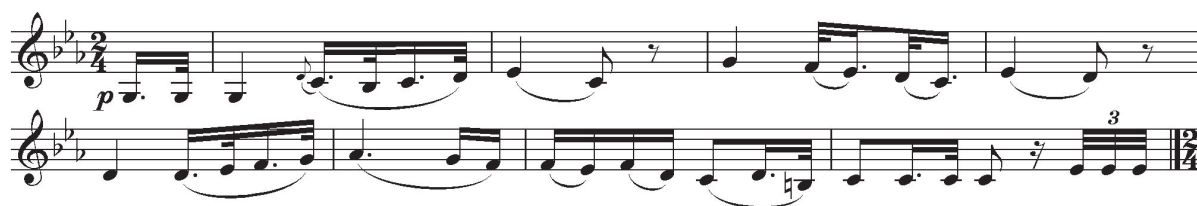
B.

Example 2. *Style hongrois* episodes in Beethoven's Symphony No. 3
A. Second movement (Marcia funebre: Adagio assai), bb. 1–10 (Violin I)
B. Fourth movement (Finale: Allegro molto), bb. 211–218 (Violin I)

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Hungarian composers made a strong effort to establish a Hungarian national musical idiom based on the *style hongrois*, which could be as significant as the Italian (symbolised by the *bel canto*), the French (symbolised by the *grand opéra*) and the German (symbolised by the symphonies). Through his eight operas Ferenc Erkel (1810–1893) established the Hungarian opera genre and culture, and succeeded in creating a national audience.[6] However, he could not develop a wholly Hungarian musical style. Erkel also created the first philharmonic society with a repertoire from Mozart to Richard Wagner. For an extended period of time, Hungarian pieces were missing from the programmes, though an audience that loved and understood such music developed through the concerts. The heroic *Rákóczi-march*, which became a national icon, was composed by Berlioz (as a part of his oratorio *La Damnation de Faust* (The Damnation of Faust, 1846)), while the symphonic poem *Hungaria* (1854), a lamentation for the nation, was composed by Franz Liszt in Weimar.

The best-known entertaining *style hongrois* pieces are Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsodies*.[7] Beside them he composed Hungarian masses and – one of his best works – an oratorio based on the Legend of Saint Elisabeth. However, he applied the heroic symphonic *style hongrois* not only in his Hungarian works, but also, for example, in the march of 'The Three

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[6] Szabolcsi, *A Concise History of Hungarian Music*, 63. Ferenc Erkel was a Hungarian composer friend of Liszt. He was the great reformer of Hungarian opera – his oeuvre is performed even today – hence he is called the 'Father of Hungarian opera'. His operas, idiomatically based on the *style hongrois* and *bel canto*, – such as *Hunyadi László* (Knight Hunyadi, 1844), *Bánk bán* (Lord Bánk, 1861), *István király* (King Saint Stephan, 1885) – are radically critical and not 'politically correct' interpretations of Erkel's contemporary events.

[7] Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt*, iii: *Az utolsó évek, 1861–1886* (Franz Liszt iii: The Final Years, 1861–1886), trans. Fejérvári Boldizsár (Budapest: Editio Musica, 2003), 266.

Kings' (*Christus* oratorio, fifth movement of the first part, 1872).[8] Applying the harmonic invention of *verbunk* music was the key to his originality in his non-Hungarian pieces as well. At the end of his life he composed some unconventional and innovative pieces using this style (for example *Historische ungarische Bildnisse* (Hungarian Historical Portraits, 1885)), that were properly appreciated only half a century later.[9]

A.

B.

C.

Example 3. Examples of *style hongrois*

A. 'Huszár gyerek' (Hussar Child)
(Hungarian folk song, early nineteenth century, originally a *verbunk* (recruiting) song)

B. Kálmán Simonffy, 'Szomorú fűz ága' (A Branch of the Weeping Willow, *c.* 1860; art song)

C. Ferenc Erkel, *Bánk bán* (Lord Bánk, 1861),
Prelude of the third act (Lamentation motif) (Violin I)

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[8] Adrienne Kaczmarczyk, 'Ungarische Dreikönige: Franz Liszts Oratorium *Christus*', in Detlef Altenburg and Harriet Oelers (eds.), *Liszt und Europa* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 2008), 114.

[9] Lajos Bárdos, *Liszt Ferenc, a jövő zenésze* (Franz Liszt, The Musician of the Future) (Budapest: Akadémia Publishing House, 1976), 123.

His European importance is well known by his influence on Wagner, Richard Strauss and Claude Debussy. To sum up, Liszt defined himself as Hungarian, and with the employment of the *style hongrois* motifs he created what Eduard Hanslick called *Zukunftsmusik* (music of the future).

Finally, the *style hongrois* became a unique European style in Brahms's *Hungarian Dances*.[10] Having studied *verbunk* dance collections, Brahms transformed these dances into a new harmonic-rhythmic model and a symphonic structure. However, Brahms, like Beethoven before him, applied the *style hongrois* elements to express heroism in the fourth movement of his Symphony No. 4, and the funeral march in the famous third movement of his Symphony No. 3.[11] Thus, the aspirations of Erkel and Liszt were ironically fulfilled by Brahms, Liszt's strongest rival, and passed on to Zoltán Kodály (1882–1967), who led the next generation of Hungarian composers.

Edmund Mihalovich: His life

Ödön (Edmund) Mihalovich (Fericance, 13 September 1842 – Budapest, 22 April 1929) was one of the first Hungarian pre-modernist composers (after the international success of Karl Goldmark (1830–1916), but before Emanuel Moór's (1863–1931) or Jenő Hubay's (1858–1937)) owing to the complexity of his music.

He was born in an aristocrat family of double, Hungarian-Croatian, nationality, which spoke natively Hungarian, Croatian and – due to the Austrian rulers (the Habsburgs) – German. However, Mihalovich was raised in the era following the suppression of the Hungarian War of Independence (1848–1849), at a time when the most important political endeavour was to join forces against the Habsburg oppression. Such a national pursuit immediately found its way into the songs and popular *verbunk* music, which was considered to be the musical symbol of liberty.

In order to familiarise himself with the most progressive music, however, Mihalovich made a compromise, leaving behind Hungary and the Hungarian culture and joining the so-called New German School (Die Neudeutsche Schule), whose members gathered around Liszt and Wagner. Mihalovich was a regular student of Mihály Mosonyi (1815–1870),[12] Hans von Bülow (1830–1894) and Peter Cornelius (1824–1874), but Wagner and Liszt were most influential on him. Thus, in the first half of his life he was attached more closely to the

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[10] Gerhard J. Winkler, 'Joachim József és Goldmark Károly: Két zsidó muzsikus párhuzamos életrajza a történelmi Nyugat-Magyarországról' (Joseph Joachim and Carl Goldmark: Two 'Parallel' Curricula of Jewish Musicians from the Region of Historical Western Hungary), trans. Mesterházi Máté, *Magyar Zene*, 46/2 (2008), 213.

[11] Bónis, *Mozarttól Bartókig*, 215.

[12] Mihály Mosonyi was one of Liszt's closest friends, an outstanding Hungarian revolutionary of classical genres composed in *style hongrois*. His piano pieces were mentioned even by Wagner in a public letter (Richard Wagner über ungarische Musik (Richard Wagner about Hungarian Music), published in *Pester Lloyd*, 21 May 1863, 273).

German musical tradition than to the Hungarian one, although throughout his life he had but one ambition, namely, to establish the abovementioned Hungarian symphonic trend.

In the 1870s he composed four popular song series and several important symphonic ballads: *Das Geisterschiff* (The Ghost Ship, 1871), *A Sellő* (The Naiad, 1874), *Hero und Leander* (Hero and Leander, 1875), *La Ronde du Sabbat* (Witches' Sabbath, 1878), *Eine Faust-Fantasie* (Faust Fantasy, 1879) and the monumental Symphony in D minor (1879).[13] Among them, *The Naiad* became very famous and his most popular piece, remaining on stage for the next seventy years. In the last period of his compositional activity (1892–1902) he wrote three symphonies (the chamber-sounding No. 2 in B minor; the elementary, quite Brucknerian No. 3 in A minor, known as the 'Pathetique'; and the impressionist No. 4 in C minor, his swan song), which proved to be quite popular.

Mihalovich's European recognition is well illustrated by the fact that his scores were printed under the supervision of Liszt and Hans Richter in 1878 (Schott), 1880 (Breitkopf), and Leo Weiner in 1908 (Rózsavölgyi). Mihalovich's pieces were played by Liszt on the piano, as well as under his baton, and – among others – by Ernst von Schuch in Dresden, Ferruccio Busoni in Berlin and Ernő Dohnányi in the studio of the Hungarian Broadcasting Company. His songs and orchestral pieces were usually performed at the regular concerts of the Allgemeine Deutsche Musikverein (General German Music Association) between 1865 and 1886. *The Ghost Ship* was premiered by Liszt in Budapest (5 April 1871) and by Leopold Damrosch in Kassel (27 June 1872). The *Faust Fantasy* received its premiere by Liszt in Leipzig (6 May 1883) and by Felix Mottl in Budapest (24 February 1896). Cosima Liszt-Wagner narrated in some letter that she or her husband played Mihalovich's songs and symphonic poems (for instance *The Naiad*). Later, Mihalovich pieces were played at representative concerts in his country as well as abroad (for example in Helsinki (1907), Paris (1910), and Rome (1911)).

In spite of his success with orchestral music, the centre of his attention was occupied by music drama: *Hagbarth und Signe* (Hagbarth and Signe, 1874, performed: 1882 Dresden, 1886 Budapest), *Wieland, der Schmied* (Wieland, the Smith, 1878, not performed), *König Fjalar* (King Fjalar, 1884, not performed, destroyed) and *Eliána* (Elaine, 1887, performed: 1908 Budapest, 1909 Vienna).[14]

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[13] My doctoral research has proved that the compositional dates of *La Ronde du Sabbat*, *Eine Faust-Fantasie* and *Toldi* provided in John S. Weissmann and Katalin Szerző, 'Mihalovich, Ödön', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, xvi (2nd edn., Macmillan: London, 2001), 649 are incorrect. See Ákos Windhager, 'MIhalovich Ödön pályaképe' (A Construed Portrait of Mihalovich Ödön), Ph.D. diss. (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 2010).

[14] *Hagbarth und Signe* is a story of a collection of Scandinavian myths, the so-called Edda collection. It is a ballad of 'Romeo and Juliet' in Norwegian-Danish circumstance, adapted by Adam Oehlenschläger (1779–1850), Danish play writer called the 'Nordic Goethe'.

King Fjalar and *Wieland, the Smith* are also stories from Edda. The Wieland saga was adapted by Wagner in Zurich (1850), who offered his play to Mihalovich as a sign of his appreciation for the organisation of his concert tour in Budapest (1875). Wieland is a diviner and metal smith, whose jewellers bear magical powers. Wieland's fate is to remain true to his magical art among temptations and compulsions. Wieland liberates himself from the servitude of his evil ruler, a pernicious lover, and renounces his diabolical revenge. The

Between 1887 and 1919 Mihalovich directed the Royal National Hungarian Academy of Music in Budapest with great talent, which became recognised worldwide under his management. He invited Bartók, Kodály, Weiner, and Dohnányi to teach there. As the official leader of the Hungarian music establishment, he was expected to compose a Hungarian music drama. Thus, Mihalovich consciously changed his musical style, turning towards the *style hongrois*; but at the same time he became inspired by the great Wagner performances conducted by Mahler (friend and later pen-friend of Mihalovich, and musical director of the Royal Hungarian Opera in the period 1888–1891).

With a refreshed tool kit and a renewed aesthetic horizon, he composed his magnum opus: *Toldi* (Knight Toldi, 1888–1891, premiered in Budapest in 1893). *Toldi* – and its revised version, *Toldi szerelme* (Toldi's Love, 1893–1894, premiered in Budapest in 1895) became the high point in the Hungarian opera history due to the intense passion of the protagonists, the inventive musical dramaturgy and the successful synthesis of the parallel reception of Liszt, Wagner and the *style hongrois*. The first version of the opera was finally performed not by Mahler – for whom it was composed – but by Anton Rebicek, and the second version by Arthur Nikisch, the world-famous, Hungarian conductor whose enthusiasm was so great, that performances of *Toldi szerelme* were on up until 1910.

Following Mihalovich's death in 1929, the Hungarian musical circles organised two commemorative concerts (1930, 1939). Mihalovich's oeuvre was received well at his time as one of the first Hungarian symphonists, but his glory was diminished by the ascent of Bartók. In the first half of the twentieth century four pieces were considered to be performed the best by Mihalovich himself: 'In the Moonlight' (orchestral song), the Prelude to Act I of *Toldi*, *The Naiad*, and Symphony No. 4.

After the Second World War, in the period of Soviet oppression, Mihalovich's pieces were missing from the repertoires. This was due to his misinterpreted Wagnerism and his connections to the Austro-Hungarian political elite. After the fall of state socialism, some of Mihalovich's works were recorded by the Hungaroton Record Company, and performed at various chamber concerts.[15]

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symbolic way of remaining faithful to one's creative power can be considered as the musical *ars poetica* both of Wagner and Mihalovich.

Eliána is a ballad from the King Arthur series, adapted by Alfred Tennyson (1809–1892) in his *King Idylls* (published between 1856 and 1885). The tragedy is about Lancelot's double love with Elaine and Queen Guinevere. The ballad was set to music by few other composers, for example Karl Goldmark (1830–1915) (*Merlin*, 1886; opera), and Edward MacDowell (1860–1908) (*Lancelot und Elaine*, 1886; symphonic poem, Op. 25).

[15] See <http://www.hungarotonmusic.com/mihalovich-odon-a4325.html#close>, accessed 16 August 2013. Only one compact disc (The Songs) was recorded, in2001, there is no other official record. However, in the archive of the Hungarian Broadcasting Company more records exist – edited by the author of the present essay – although there is no public access to them.

In The Double Bonding of *Zukunftsmusik* and *Style Hongrois*

Mihalovich claimed to be a mediator, by which he meant that he integrated the most important musical trends of his time, fusing Liszt and Wagner into the Hungarian musical culture. In the field of literature he played a crucial role in the musical assimilation and elaboration of the literary heritage of János Arany (1817–1882) and Nikolaus Lenau (1802–1850).[16] For his songs he chose texts by authors who were also considered intercultural, such as the Hungarian-Slovakian poet Sándor Endrődi (1850–1920), and the 'first cosmopolitan Hungarian' poet Gyula Reviczky (1855–1889).

Mihalovich's ambition was also to base the progressive Hungarian music on the results of his antecedents such as Erkel and Mosonyi, while at the same time adopting the vivid symphonic technique of the New German School. In the creation of his own musical idiom, Mihalovich studied Liszt's compositions, merging various trends, including *style hongrois* elements. This is well exemplified by the peak of the *Faust Fantasy* – based on the *Zukunftsmusik* – in which a *style hongrois* phrase rattles in the bass register (see Example 4.E). The first Hungarian symphonic poems composed by Mihalovich, through which the Hungarian literature entered the international musical stage, can be considered as a resonance of Liszt's opus.

Example 4. The main themes of the *Faust Fantasy*: **A.** (Violin I), **B.** (Flute I), **C.** (Trumpet I), **D.** (Violin I), **E.** bb. 321–327 (Violoncello). The four main themes are in a sharp contrast with the *style hongrois* of the dramaturgical peak in bb. 321–327

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[16] János Arany had a central role in Hungarian literature similar to that of Alfred Tennyson in English literature. Arany created epics, ballads and lyrical poems. He was the most popular of all Hungarian poets – and has remained so until today. Beside his literary opus he was at the centre of the Hungarian literary life; he was elected president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (1865–1882). Nikolaus Lenau was born in Hungary in a German-Hungarian family. His poems (romances), ballads and plays were written in German. His literary productivity was considered to be as important as Heinrich Heine's.

Mihalovich has often been criticised by Hungarian musicology for his Wagnerism due to misinterpretation of Wagner's influence on his compositional technique. He arrived in Budapest in 1860, at a time when the Hungarian musical circles started performing the music of Liszt and Wagner. Thus, the young artist acquired the *verbunk* style and the *Zukunftsmusik* at the same time. Indeed, in the formative years of his musical identity it is not the Hungarian national opera (such as Erkel's *Bánk bán* (Lord Bánk, 1861)) that was of decisive influence on him, but the *Tannhäuser* (performed in Budapest in 1862) and Wagner's Pest concert (1863). Between 1865 and 1870, in Leipzig and in Munich, Mihalovich participated in events at the General German Music Association.

The parallel reception of *verbunk*, Liszt and Wagner assured that the so-called Wagnerism in Mihalovich's oeuvre was not a mere imitation, as some critics suggested, but a transformative model. From the 1880s onwards his melodic structure and instrumentation became fundamentally different from those of Wagner. In Mihalovich's scores the human voice was given an especially important melodic role, that is why his vocal pieces became equal to – if not more important than – the orchestral works. He applied the ballad form to the dramatic character, and he emphasised the lyrical, personal, symbolic layer of the plot. Therefore, just as the *style hongrois* symbolised 'Hungarianness', Wagner symbolised modern opera, and Liszt symbolised music with capital letters – that is why Mihalovich combined them and created based on them a coherent whole of his own.

Pan: Pantheism in the Cultural Main Stream

In the ancient Greek myth Pan was the goat-legged god of nature, the wilds, shepherds and flocks, hunting, playing rustic music on his flute, and engaging in orgiastic pleasure. He was also well-known for his deep sleep and – when disturbed – for his sudden wild fury, which has been called 'panic' ever since. Pan's companions were the nymphs, naiads and fauns.

It was Plutarch who wrote an unusual letter about Pan's death.[17] A ship was sailing close to the isle of Paxi, when the passengers heard a bizarre announcement from the sky: 'Great Pan is Dead!' Thamus, the captain, had to pass on the message to nature, so he shouted the news three times. Hearing the sad news, all the rocks of Palodes, all the trees and all the animals burst out crying, weeping and mourning. Later, the emperor Tiberius ordered an investigation, but every scientist, priest and officer confirmed the fact.

Robert Graves suggested that the passengers aboard the ship, including a supposed Egyptian pilot, Thamus (whose name is the same as the god's), apparently misheard the announcement: 'Thamus Pan-megas tethnēce!' (The all-great Tammuz is dead!) for 'Thamous, Pan o megas tethnēke' (Thamus, Great Pan is Dead). As Graves adds 'the phrase would have probably carried no meaning to the others on board who must have been unfamiliar with the worship of Tammuz which was a transplanted, and [...] an exotic

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[17] Plutarch, 'De Defectorum Oraculorum', *Moralia*, v, trans. Frank Cole Babbitt (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1936), 401.

custom'.[18] No one can, however, shed light on the other miracle, the mourning of the nature – except that it was an exaggerated rhetorical emphasis underlining the fact of his death.

This dead Pan was recalled in the cultural mainstream by Friedrich Nietzsche. He, as an expert in classical philology, interpreted Pan as one of the manifestations of Dionysus. In *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik* (The Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Music), meant to be the foundation of his *oeuvre*, the philosopher used the event of Pan's death as the symbol of the decline of ancient theatre.[19] This is not the place to discuss the evolution of Nietzsche's idea, and his differentiation among the Demon, Zarathustra, Dionysus and Anti-Christ as opposed to the artists of the nineteenth century, who treated them as one and the same character. Thus there is no relevant difference between Zarathustra and Anti-Christ in symphonies by R. Strauss, between Zarathustra and Dionysus by Mahler.

The death of Pan, the twilight of the gods and the twilight of the idols led Nietzsche – through other phases – to the final concept, the eternal recurrence, which is the following:

> This life as you now live it and have lived it you will have to live once again and innumerable times again; and there will be nothing new in it, but every pain and every joy and every thought and sigh and everything unspeakably small or great in your life must return to you, all in the same succession and sequence – even this spider and this moonlight between the trees, and even this moment and I myself. The eternal hourglass of existence is turned over again and again, and you with it, speck of dust![20]

Briefly, eternal recurrence means – after the death of God – that transcendental time and truth no longer exist. So we live in the eternal 'here and now'.[21]

Besides the interpretation of Pan's death as a mark of 'The Twilight of the Gods' there was another understanding, as well, which interpreted Pan as the divinity of nature.[22] This view was spreading extremely fast in the late nineteenth century. We can discover the Pan inspiration in the works of Stéphane Mallarmé, Arthur Rimbaud and Nathaniel Hawthorne.[23]

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[18] Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths*, i (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1955), 101.

[19] 'When Greek tragedy died, by contrast, there arose a vast, which was felt everywhere; just as Greek sailors from the time of Tiberius once heard on a lonely island the devastating cry "the great God Pan is dead", so a call now rang like the painful sound of morning throughout the Hellenic world, "Tragedy is dead! And with it we have lost poetry itself"'. Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy and Other Writings*, ed. Raymond Geuss and Ronald Speirs, trans. Ronald Speirs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 54–55.

[20] Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*, ed. Bernard Williams (2nd edn., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 194.

[21] Martin Heidegger, *Nietzsche*, ii: *The Eternal Recurrence of the Same*, trans. David Farrell Krell (San Fransisco and London: Harper and Row, 1984), 25.

[22] Pan's death interpreted as the twilight of the Greek Gods, for example in Stéphane Mallarmé, 'Mythes inférieurs grecs', *Les Dieux antiques: nouvelle mythologie illustrée d'après George W. Cox* (Paris: J. Rothschild, 1880), 228 <http://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Les_Dieux_antiques/Mythes_inf%C3%A9rieurs_grecs#cite_>, accessed 16 August 2013.

[23] Paul Verlaine: 'Le Faune' (*Fêtes galantes*, 1869); Arthur Rimbaud: *Tête de faune* (published in *La vogue* in June 1886) (the first version of the poem was written in 1871/1872. See <http://abardel.free.fr/

This list may be extended by mentioning either the Pre-Raphaelite painters, or composers such as Claude Debussy, Alexander Scriabin and Carl Nielsen.

Pan's Death Interpreted by Gyula Reviczky

> Villámod megfagyott, szegény Zeusz.
> Jehova, Buddha, Alláh nagy nevének
> Nem száll a földrül égbe hálaének.
> A végitélet szörnyü harsonája
> Az isteneket holtakúl találja.
>
>
> Zeus, your flash is frozen.
> For Yahweh, Buddha, Allah
> No more pitiful hymn, Alas.
> The dreadful horn of doomsday
> Will find the great gods, all dead.

Reviczky, *Az utolsó költő* (The Last Poet)[24]

In the Hungarian mainstream culture it was Reviczky who first evoked Pan in his greatest poem: *The Death of Pan* (1889). Reviczky was one of the black sheep of Hungarian literature, being the first Hungarian modernist. His style was close to the Symbolists'. Arthur Schopenhauer and Nietzsche influenced his perspective. His poems were considered 'open works', provoking the readers to passionate reflection.

In *The Death of Pan* the ancient divinity symbolises the essence of life: the joy, the pleasure and the brotherhood of gods and humans. This poem follows the narration of Plutarch, but includes some critical notes as well, ending with the vision of Christ's cross. By this image, Reviczky emphasises the coincidence of two events: the ancient gods were condemned to death by Jesus' redemption. This act has not been a purely mythological one, but it has influenced all humanity; nevertheless, the human world has become rigid, monotonous and painful. Gods used to live in nature, the Only God has been living in the human heart – explains Reviczky with slight irony. The topic of this poem is a mere pretext for conveying his moral criticism, pointing to the culture of sorrow, and fighting for the freedom of instincts. The author's god was Pan – and not the One, who is symbolised only by his cross and nothing else, including his miracles, resurrection, or teachings.

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tout_rimbaud/poemes_1871.htm#tete_de_faune>, accessed 16 August 2013); Victor de Laprade: '*Le Faune*' (*Le Parnasse contemporain*, 1870); Stéphane Mallarmé: *L'après-midi d'un faune* (1865–1867/1876); and Nathaniel Hawthorne: *The Marble Faun* (1860). For more details see Jürgen Wertheimer, '"Es lebt der grosse Pan", literarische Wandlungen eines mythologischen Themas' (The Great God Pan has Survived. Literary Transformations of a Mythological Theme), *Neohelicon*, 4/1–2 (1976), 315–329.

[24] Gyula Reviczky, *Az utolsó költő* (The Last Poet, 1889), my translation. This poem is a typical *ars poetica* following the Hungarian literary tradition.

The Death of Pan: The Programme Symphony

As mentioned already, Mihalovich composed five symphonic ballads in the 1870s, but at the same time he also started composing non-programmatic symphonies. After an eighteen-year long break, he made a comeback to the field of programme music by creating his version of *Pan* in 1897. *The Death of Pan* was performed in February 1898 in Budapest by the world-famous Hungarian conductor Sándor Erkel (1846–1900) with great success. Hearing it at that concert Ferruccio Busoni, the conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic, included it in the repertoire of his 'Modern Music Concerts'. On 15 November 1902 in the Beethovensaal (Berlin) Mihalovich's *Pan* was performed together with Frederick Delius's *Paris: A Nocturne* (The Song of a Great City, 1899), Jean Sibelius's *En saga* (A Saga, 1892) and Théophile Ysaÿe's *Piano Concerto* (1902).[25] *The Death of Pan* was well received by the critics in Berlin.[26]

The Death of Pan was based on the above-mentioned poem, but only five scenes were retold. Underlining the importance of the programme, Mihalovich wrote an instruction onto the score: either to recite the whole poem or the five titles of the movements of his composition in order to promote better understanding.[27] The first part is the sailing, the second is the orgy, which is set on the ship the night before the announcement, the third one is the announcement of Pan's death, the forth is the sorrow of nature and the last one is the triumph of the cross.

The problem of this genre is very similar to that of the Symphony No. 1 ('Titan') by Mahler, who described it as a symphonic poem in symphonic form.[28] Mihalovich's five parts are set in four movements, because the third and the fourth scenes belong to the same movement; so the movements are arranged in a fairly typical four-movement fashion (I. 'The Joyful Sailing'; II. 'The Orgy'; III. 'The Death of Pan', and 'The Lament of Nature'; and IV. 'The Triumph of the Cross'). Normally, the 'minuet–trio' is the third movement and the slow movement is the second one, but Mihalovich switched them, as Beethoven did in some of his symphonies.

Mihalovich's 'allegro giojoso' [*sic*] first movement (6/8) is in C major with a youthful horn solo part. The E-majored 'allegro' second movement (6/8) is an interrupted one, the interruptions occurring by means of large *meno mosso* episodes (4/4) with sensual oboe-clarinet and erotic bass-clarinet solos in entertaining *style hongrois* (augmented second and raised forth, syncopation). According to some *fin-de-siècle* critics the *meno mosso* motif has

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[25] Andrew Barnett, *Sibelius* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 152.

[26] 'A Pán halála Berlinben' (Pan's Death in Berlin), *Zenevilág*, 25 November 1902, 32.

[27] His original German note is: 'Zum genaueren Verständnis dieser Composition ist es wünschenswerth, bei Concert-Aufführungen entweder das ganze Gedicht auf dem Programm zu veröffentlichen, oder die folgenden Aufschriften, welche die Hauptmomente des Gedichtes musikalisch Schildern, anzugeben'
(For a better understanding of this composition it is advisable to publish either the whole poem or the next inscriptions, which describe the musically important main themes of the poem).
Budapest, The Liszt Academy of Music, Research Library, *The Death of Pan*, autograph manuscript score, MS. Mus. 848.

[28] *Mahler Handbuch*, ed. Bernd Sponheuer and Wolfram Steinbeck (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2010), 220.

erotic undertones.[29] The second movement could be interpreted as a quasi-sonata form consisting of an exposition, development and recapitulation with a freely-used variation technique of the three themes.

The 'lento assai' third movement (4/4) is in A minor contrasted with the 'tempo di marcia funebre' (2/4) in D minor, where the march is played only by winds, until the lamentation, in which different instruments are employed. The music is based on the synthesis of the organ-like mixture inspired by R. Strauss (for example in the section of bb. 19–23 after rehearsal mark 14 of *Till Eulenspiegel*)[30] and *style hongrois* (it is its usual funeral march topic). The E-majored 'andante moderato' finale (6/4) presents a hymn-like motif, with parts of the horn quartet interrupted by episodes of 'lento e maestoso' (4/4), which is indeed a heroic, triumph march in *style hongrois* introduced for the first time by the strings.

The music ends up with the return of the opening bars of the first movement in 6/8 with the galloping rhythms. Thus we can assume that Mihalovich's programme symphony finally reveals its hidden cyclic form. In the cyclic form of *The Death of Pan* the composer links up two traditions, the cyclic symphony model of Beethoven and the theory of eternal recurrence by Nietzsche. Since Beethoven, few composers applied this model, the most important being Schubert, Anton Bruckner, César Franck, and, of course, Liszt.[31] The symphonies of all of them (with the exception perhaps of Franck) were studied by Mihalovich. The cyclic model creates the illusion of eternity, as if the music could never be completed, as the finale would always recall the beginning (even at a higher level). The narrative of the cyclic form makes the works open. This model could have come to Mihalovich's mind even by his pantheism, since the wheel of the seasons is eternal; it is the turn of the gods. The whole world is determinedly fixed (unchangeable), only the gods (and symbols, idols, theories) change from time to time.

A.

B.

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[29] See [István Kereszty], 'Pán halála – koncertbeszámoló' (Pan's Death – Concert Review), *Zeneközlöny*, 22 January 1910, 13.

[30] Richard Strauss, *Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche*, Op. 28 (Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks) (New York: Dover, 1979), 18.

[31] Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 859.

C.

D.

E.

Example 5. Mihalovich: Themes of *The Death of Pan*
A. 'The Joyful Sailing' (Horn I)
B. 'The Orgy': 'allegro vivace' (Violin I); 'meno mosso' (Oboe)
C. 'The Death of Pan' (Horn I)
D. 'The Lament of Nature': 'tempo di marcia funebre' (English horn); 'allegro con moto' (Violin II)
E. 'The Triumph of the Cross': 'andante moderato' (English horn); 'lento e maestoso' (Horn)

Mihalovich's late romantic orchestra consists of three flutes and one piccolo, three oboes and one English horn, three clarinets and one bass clarinet, three bassoons and one contrabassoon, four horns, three trumpets, three trombones, one tuba, timpani, triangle, bass drum, harp, and a large string section. It is a full-size orchestra; however, it is not used in fortissimo dynamics. The instruments play sensuous tonal colours and Mihalovich combines the unusual orchestration with daring impressionistic harmonies. In spite of the prominent function of the horn quartet, the orchestration is built on chamber sounding and avoids bombastic; for example in the movement 'The Death of Pan' the strings contrast with the winds.

Example 6. Third movement: 'The Death of Pan', bb. 68–71, with organ-like mixture
(Reproduced by kind permission of The Liszt Academy of Music, Research Library)

The symphonic poem begins in C major, then the music goes through the episodes of B flat, A and D minors to the goal of E major. The deepest point of the E major-based tonal

axis is the B flat minor third movement ('The Death of Pan'). The death of Pan destroys the *harmonia mundi* just as the tragic B flat minor destroys the joyous E major. The sorrow is in D minor (with one flat instead of sharps – 'crosses'), which follows the event of death.[32] However, in the first part of 'The Triumph of the Cross' – which we can describe as the awakening of nature, a homage to Mahler's Third Symphony – E major is revived.

Following this tonal narrative we can suggest some symbolism. The passengers are *sailing* in C major and *marching* in A minor in the scene of the funeral march, thus the C major and its parallel A minor stand for mankind. The orgy with the gods and the triumph march for gods are in E major. The use of E major could be a slight trick, being written with fours sharps (crosses). The E major is not a variation (or only far enough) of C major, thus man is not the protagonist on this stage. Although *The Death of Pan* is an interpretation of *Die Götterdämmerung* (The Twilight of the Gods), from the point of view of Mihalovich it is not a human tragedy, but rather a divine comedy.

Hunting For a Central Motif

Given that this music is based on a poem, it is justified to search for a central motif, even if a fragmentary one. However, with the exception of the first movement, in the other three there are two different motifs. In the first part we can detect a joyful galloping motif. In the second movement there is a passionate *allegro* motif, and the mentioned erotic *meno mosso* also appears. The third movement has a slow introduction with a tragic tune, resembling the motif of a funeral march. The *allegro* motif is a faster but melancholic one. In the finale there is an *andante* in a hymnal style, and triumph march, a little faster.

A closer analysis reveals that there is no central motif that acts as an *idée fixe*, a motto theme or a rondo figure. The lack of this motif obviously bears significance; however, there is a central group of five tones (A – C sharp – E – G sharp – B) which can be viewed as the elements of an A major ninth chord. These are the basic constituents of the 'Orgy' and hymnal motifs. They resemble each other so much, that in some bars they are even interchangeable. Sometimes a name is hidden in such motifs, for example in the case of *Scheherazade* by Rimsky-Korsakov, but in Mihalovich's piece such a code is missing.

By Way of Intertextuality

The motif of the orgy scene can be considered to be the inversion of *Till Eulenspiegel*'s rondo theme by R. Strauss.[33] The hymnal motif can be recognised as a variation of the motif in Liszt's oratorio on Saint Elisabeth at the scene describing her death. The two motifs have the same figure and logic, but they differ by some intervals. The hymnal motif (and the

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[32] The German name of the 'sharp' term is 'der Kreuz'. In common English language 'der Kreuz' means 'the cross'. Therefore, all the scales with sharps bear a special symbolic dual meaning in German music.

[33] I would like to thank Kenneth A. Birkin (musicologist) and László Bartal (conductor, Hungarian State Opera) for bringing this to my attention.

second phrase of the orgy theme) can also be interpreted as an allusion to the *Excelsior!* theme by Liszt, which inspired Wagner's *Parsifal,* too.[34] This interconnectedness allows the interpretation of Pan as a symbolic figure who personalises the eternal combat between the divine and devil powers. Thus Pan, the god, becomes irreversibly human; a memento for the internal struggles of the human psyche experienced by Liszt, Wagner and Mihalovich themselves.

At this point we turn our attention to a supposed Mahlerian allusion. Mahler visited Budapest between 27 March and 1 April 1897 and conducted the second movement of his Symphony No. 3 (31 March 1897, Hungarian Royal Opera).[35] Through this concert Mahler could have inspired Mihalovich with regards to both the topic and the genre of the programme symphony that lacks any central motif. Mihalovich may have taken up the challenge, and finished the Pan story started by Mahler.

Finally, Mihalovich used the tragic main theme of the third movement of Brahms's Symphony No. 3 at the very end of his 'The Lament of Nature'. The reason for this choice may be that the original form of the Brahmsian melody is a funeral march with *style hongrois* elements.

A1.

A2.

ih - re Hör - ner hört' ich klin - ge

A3.

cresc

B1.

B2.   **B3.**

B4.   **B5.**

C1.

C2.

Example 7. Intertextuality in *The Death of Pan*
A1. Mihalovich: *The Death of Pan*, 'Orgy theme' (Violin II)
A2. Mihalovich: 'Durch den Wald' (Through the Forest), *7 Lieder*, bb. 13–14
A3. R. Strauss: *Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks*, *Rondo* theme (Horn I)
B1. Liszt: *The Legend of Saint Elizabeth*, Elizabeth's prayer (Violoncello)
B2. Liszt: *Excelsior!*, Excelsior's theme (Violin I)
B3. Wagner: *Parsifal*, Parsifal's theme (first phrase) (Violin I)
B4. Mihalovich: *The Death of Pan*, 'The Orgy' Orgy theme (second phrase) bb. 260–263 (Trumpet I)
B5. Mihalovich: *The Death of Pan*, 'The Triumph of the Cross', bb. 54–55, (Trumpet I)
C1. Brahms: Symphony No. 3, Third movement, main theme (Horn I)
C2. Mihalovich: *The Death of Pan*, 'The Lament of Nature', bb. 77–80 (Flute I)

Epilogue with the Empress of Austria, Queen Elisabeth

While completing his symphonic poem and searching for a libretto, the news of a fatal accident shocked Mihalovich: Empress Elisabeth of Austria was murdered in Switzerland (10 September 1898). Being the director of the Royal Music Academy it was Mihalovich's duty to express the sorrow of the Hungarians. In spite of having been born out of obligation, the *Marcia funebre sulla morte dell' Imperatrice Regine Elisabetta d' Austria-Ungheria* (Funeral March on the Occasion of the Death of Elisabeth, Empress and Queen of Austria-Hungary) became one of his best pieces. At its premiere on 25 January 1899 in Budapest it was very

well received by both the general public and the critics.[36] Inspired by this success, Mihalovich completed a full symphony, the No. 3, '*Pathetique*' [*sic*], in A minor (1900). The movements are the following: Allegro patetico, Scherzo, Marcia funebre and Allegro con brio. It is quite the same structure as that applied in *The Death of Pan*: a grim opening is followed by a youthful scherzo and the slow movement comes only as the third movement, to sharpen the contrast with the vivid last movement. The finale is hymn-like and recapitulates the main theme of the first movement – just like in *The Death of Pan*.

A.

B.

C.

D.

Example 8. Symphony No. 3 'Pathetique' [*sic*]: Main themes
A. First movement (Allegro patetico) (Oboe I)
B. Second movement (Scherzo – Allegro) (Violin I)
C. Third movement (Marcia funebre. Grave e lento) (Horn I)
D. Fourth movement (Allegro con brio) (Violin I)

There are other similarities as well, especially in the expression of the mourning and the joyous apotheosis. Moreover the motifs of the two pieces are rooted in the same melodies; the same large-scale orchestra is applied; and so are the organ-like mixture (for example in the first movement), the *style hongrois* (third movement) and some pantheist semi-hymns; all these features appear in both pieces. We can assume that while *The Death of Pan* was the sacred piece, the Symphony No. 3 was its profane variation. Mihalovich lamented for the mortal divines in the former, he followed suit for the mortal human in the latter.

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[36] Emil Ábrányi, 'Mihalovich Ödön – Bevezetés a Symphonie pathetique-hez' (Mihalovich Ödön – Introduction to the Symphony 'Pathetique'), *Budapesti Napló*, 30 January 1901, 11.

Mihalovich's finales, however, are not sad in their undertone; rather, they express a strong commitment to life. The opening bars of his pieces refer to the eternal recurrence that maintains and sustains life. Nietzsche interpreted this phenomenon as the tragedy of existence, while Mihalovich accepted it through pantheistic serenity. The elements of life and the arts are simultaneously significant and insignificant, as they are whirling by the eternal recurrence. Pan and Jesus, *style hongrois* and *Zukunftsmusik* are purely transitory phases.

Epilogue with the 'Pan-ian' *Style Hongrois*

The list of musical pieces inspired by Pan is really long, and three of them could have been influenced by the *style hongrois.* These are: Vítězslav Novák's (1870 –1949) symphonic poem *Pan* Op. 43 (1910/1912), R. Strauss's *Eine Alpensinfonie* (An Alpine Symphony, 1915), and Henry Kimball Hadley's music drama *The Atonement of Pan* (1912). All of them were composed in a short period of time, between 1910 and 1915.

Novák was a Czech composer, whose search for original Czech folksongs took him to northern Hungary, a region that today belongs to Slovakia. That area was, and still is, inhabited by Hungarians and Slovaks, thus its folk music contained several elements of, and was influenced by, the *style hongrois.* Novak applied the *style hongrois* in his various pieces (for example: *V Tatrách* (In the Tatras) Op. 32, *Slovácká suita* (Moravian-Slovak Suite) Op. 32 – both for orchestra – and *Sonata Eroica* for piano Op. 24). He used the *style hongrois* to express freedom and joy, and to depict mountains, that is, to create the usual romantic highlander setting. In his *Pan* for piano solo (1910, orchestrated in 1912) he described the peregrination of the god in the mountains (second movement), on the sea (third movement), in the forest (fourth movement), finally to love (fifth movement).[37] Novak's musical language has some similarities with Mihalovich's, the most significant being his use of the entertaining *style hongrois* in the second movement ('Hory' (Mountains), see Example 9.A).[38]

An Alpine Symphony by R. Strauss was planned to be a dark interpretation of Nietzsche's Pan.[39] The original drafts were written commemorating the Swiss painter Karl Stauffer-Bern (1857–1891) and the work was originally titled *Künstlertragödie* (Tragedy of an Artist).[40] This plan was never realised, but Strauss began a new four-movement work called *Die Alpen* (The Alps) in which he exploited parts of the original 1899 draft. Upon the death of Mahler in 1911, Strauss decided to revisit the work. The resulting draft was a two-part work titled *Der Antichrist: Eine Alpensinfonie* (Anti-Christ, An Alpine Symphony); however, Strauss never

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[37] Vítězslav Novák, *Pan* (Praha: Universal Edition, 1963).

[38] I would like to thank Stefan Schmidl for bringing Novak's Panian *style hongrois* to my attention.

[39] Stephan Koehler, 'Vorwort' (Preface), trans. Stewart Spencer, in Richard Strauss, *Eine Alpensinfonie* (New York: Dover, 1993), vi. Taking into account the literary programme of the planned anti-Christ movement, we can consider the main similarities with the other Pan (Zarathusra) of R. Strauss.

[40] Michael Kennedy, *Richard Strauss: Man, Musician, Enigma* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 176.

finished the second part. Instead, he dropped the first half of the title and called his single movement work simply *An Alpine Symphony*.

A.

B.

C.

Example 9. *Style hongrois* episodes
A. Novák: *Pan*, Second movement ('Mountains'), bb. 1–4 (Piano)
B. R. Strauss: *An Alpine Symphony*, Rehearsal mark 18, bb. 1–5 (Horn I)
C. Hadley: *The Atonement of Pan*, Entr'acte, bb. 91–93 (Flute I)

Strauss's climbing motif (appears for the first time at the episode 'The Ascent', at rehearsal mark No. 18 – see Example 9.B) is a strongly-pointed triumphant fanfare played by the brass, which has been associated with Mahler's opening march of the first movement ('Pan Awakes, Summer Marches In') in his Symphony No. 3.[41] This climbing motif is recognised only as a traditional fanfare, but with no attention given to its origin.[42] However, comparing this theme with the passages in *style hongrois* of Example 3, we cannot help but point out their rhythmical similarities, despite the rarity of this rhythmical model, not only in the *Alpensinfonie*, but also in R. Strauss's other orchestral music. Had the fanfare used an A instead of the A flat, or an F sharp instead of the F, it could have sounded more *style hongrois*-like. Nonetheless, in this Strauss-theme we can find the heroism of the *style hongrois*. Nevertheless, while Novak could have learnt the *style hongrois* by North-Hungarian music, Strauss actually grew under the influence of Liszt. The entertaining mood and heroism of the *style hongrois* differs in each case from that by Mihalovich; however, the similarities are more than a coincidence.

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[41] Norman Del Mar, *Richard Strauss: A Critical Commentary on his Life and Works*, ii (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 109.

[42] Paul Thomason, 'The Great Strauss Tone Poems: A Composer's Journey through Young Manhood' <http://bso.http.internapcdn.net/bso/images/program_notes/strauss_zarathustra.pdf>, accessed 16 August 2013.

The last example leads us to a prominent American composer, Henry Kimball Hadley (1871–1937).[43] Hadley studied composition in the United States, but he spent many years in Europe as well, where he studied the scores of all the late romantic and modern composers. He especially admired Brahms and R. Strauss, by whom he was simultaneously influenced. The musical drama *The Atonement of Pan* by Hadley – predicting the tragic fate of Pan – contains many phrases with triple and pointed rhythms – typical of the *style hongrois* (see Example 9)*.* Tragic heroism – as mentioned earlier – is symbolised in the Central European musical tradition by the *style hongrois*.[44]

Final-e-pilogue

Mihalovich set his *Pan* into the centre of Romanticism by recalling Nietzsche, citing Liszt and Brahms, and making allusions to Beethoven, Wagner and R. Strauss. He represented a musical panorama with great passion for nature and music. *The Death of Pan* is a piece about the very act of composition, with the composer lying at its centre. As Pan was the god of flute, this music is a game of melodies, tunes and allusions. That is why the *idée fixe* of Pan is missing: Pan has been living in music as a whole, not in a mere motif.

Finally, the fact that three composers – working independently – coloured their pieces about Pan with the *style hongrois* reveals the traditional functions, the flexibility and even the modernity of this musical style, linked to the enigmatic great god Pan.

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[43] Henry Hadley, *The Atonement of Pan. A Suite for the Pianoforte* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1916).
[44] Hadley's music professor was George Whitefield Chadwick (1854–1931), who studied music in Germany for many years in the circle of the New German School in Leipzig and Munich. The most relevant influences on Chadwick were the scores of Beethoven and Mendelssohn.

Imagining the Sound of the 'Serbian Sparta'[*]

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ABSTRACT: Although the Principality of Serbia existed since the early nineteenth century as an autonomous polity, the Serbian intelligentsia based in the urban centres of the Habsburg monarchy kept the leading position in shaping the Serbian nationalistic discourse. In order to frame the Serbian nationalistic cause in terms which would prove cogent for their compatriots, these intellectuals created utopian images of the distant lands and territories they considered Serbian. A very special role was given to Montenegro – labelled the 'Serbian Sparta' – which was celebrated as a land of warriors adamant in refusing the Ottoman rule and victorious in their resistance towards the advances of the conquerors. This was an especially potent symbol at the time when the Serbian intelligentsia in the Habsburg monarchy was advocating the belligerent liberation of the purportedly Serbian national territories from the Ottoman rule. The notion of the 'Serbian Sparta' was not only endorsed by important political figures such as Svetozar Miletić, but was also widespread in popular culture, including music journals and compositions. Music had a salient role in imparting the nationalistic ideology to the Serbian population residing in the Habsburg monarchy, especially as overt political activism was perpetually curbed by the authorities, and choral societies were the most widespread mode of creating Serbian social networks. In my paper I will explore how the imaginary sound of the 'Serbian Sparta' was rendered through music. Namely, I will discuss how composers, including most prominent figures such as Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, employed compositional devices – such as austere tunes and hollow harmonies – to create this imaginary soundscape.

In this paper I will discuss the discourse that portrayed Montenegro as the 'Serbian Sparta' which was present during the nineteenth century among the Serbian elite, primarily in Austro-Hungary. I will also explore whether and in what way this discourse influenced certain compositions with linked themes. Although the Principality of Serbia existed since the early nineteenth century as an autonomous polity, the Serbian intelligentsia based in the urban centres of the Habsburg monarchy kept the leading position in shaping the Serbian nationalistic discourse. One of the main goals on the agenda of the Serbian elite was to reach a satisfying solution for the so-called Eastern Question – the question of division of Ottoman territories on the Balkans – which became current with the decline of the Ottoman Empire. The Serbian intelligentsia strived to foster the solution which would lead to the formation of a unified Serbian state, encompassing all the territories inhabited by Serbs, or perceived as Serbian based on the narratives on the medieval Serbian state. In order to

reach their goals, members of the Serbian elite had to arouse nationalistic sentiments in their compatriots in Austro-Hungary, and afterwards to incite the government of the Principality of Serbia to wage a war against the Ottomans and disentangle the lands which they believed naturally belonged to the Serbian nation. Producing the notion of Serbian homeland, defining what Serbian national territory is, and what a future Serbian nation-state should encompass was possible only by producing and propagating representations of these lands which could vindicate the Serbian nationalistic cause and render it comprehensible and palpable.[1] These chimerical images of the distant lands and territories were based on stories of medieval history, geographical representations – whether cartographical, verbal or visual – but also, very importantly, on music and sound representations.

In this process, a very special role was given to Montenegro: labelled the 'Serbian Sparta', Montenegro was celebrated as a land of warriors adamant in refusing the Ottoman rule and victorious in their resistance towards the advances of the conquerors.[2] In particular, the image of the Montenegrin as a lofty, bellicose and intrepid warrior, proved very convincing in the cultural discourses. This image was sometimes paired with the gusle, a simple one-string instrument, used to accompany declamation of epic poetry, which was moreover attributed to Homer. Montenegro was a potent symbol not least because, due to its position in the Ottoman realm, it was perceived as a potential harbinger of the long-awaited belligerent liberation of the purportedly Serbian national territories from Ottoman rule. Owing to its mountainous landscape, a small patch of its land had never succumbed to Ottoman armies, and its rulers were not reluctant to engage in battles with neighbouring countries in order to gain territory, unlike the seemingly not audacious enough Principality of Serbia. Montenegro took part in the Great Turkish War (from 1683 to 1699) although with no great success, and it unsuccessfully engaged in war against Turkey in 1861 and 1862; finally, supporting rebellion in Herzegovina, Montenegro declared war on Turkey, impelling both the Principality of Serbia and the Russian empire to join in. Unlike Serbia, which was in need of Russian aid, Montenegro was victorious throughout, and the war ended by significant territorial extension and international recognition of both states.

The notion of Montenegro as the 'Serbian Sparta' was present in social discourses among Serbians in Austro-Hungary on many different levels. On one hand, it was endorsed by important political figures such as Svetozar Miletić,[3] but, on the other, it was rampant in popular culture, including music journals and compositions. Miletić was a major political

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[1] See Jan Penrose, 'Nations, States and Homelands: Territory and Territoriality in Nationalist Thought', *Nations and Nationalism*, 8/3 (July 2002), 277–297 and George W. White, *Nationalism and Territory: Constructing Group Identity in Southeastern Europe* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000).

[2] See Čedomir Popov, *Velika Srbija: stvarnost i mit* (Great Serbia: Reality and Myth) (2nd edn., Sremski Karlovci and Novi Sad: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, 2007).

[3] See Dejan Mikavica, *Politička ideologija Svetozara Miletića* (The Political Ideology of Svetozar Miletić) (Novi Sad: Stylos, 2006) and Milo Vukčević, 'Svetozar Miletić prema Crnoj Gori' (Svetozar Miletić towards Montenegro), *Letopis Matice srpske*, 113/352 (October–November 1939), 336–353.

leader of the Serbs in southern Austro-Hungary, also known as Vojvodina. Active as a journalist, agitator, and mayor, he strongly opposed the curbing of political freedoms by Hungarian government after the 1867 Compromise with Austria, and rejected the multinational ideal of Habsburg monarchy, summing up his demands in a phrase: 'The Balkans for the Balkan people'. At one point, discussing the liberation of the Balkan Christians, he used this metaphor: 'Montenegro is Thermopiles, the dawn of this liberation'.[4] Later he added: 'If there is a reason for which the name of Serbian people is respected in Europe, it is the fist of Montenegro, which gloriously kept and defended Serbian freedom'.[5] After the assassination of the Serbian prince Mihajlo, Miletić commended Montenegrin prince Nikola as a future leader of the Serbian unification.[6] Importantly, Miletić was a regular contributor to Serbian journals at the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century. One of those journals, *Srbski dnevnik*, active in the fifties and sixties, bestowed warm praise on Montenegro in almost every issue. This shows that Miletić's regard towards Montenegro was not only shared by other leading intellectuals, but was also part of everyday political and popular discourse. Part of this picture is certainly music journals, whose editors tried hard to report regularly on music activities and events in the 'Serbian Sparta'. This could be shown on example of the journal *Gusle*, issued by the Union of Serbian Choral Societies in Sombor, in the second decade of the twentieth century, before the outburst of the First World War, which warmly reported on concerts in Montenegro in the issues of 1911 and 1912.[7]

As it has been repeatedly noted, music had a salient role in imparting the nationalistic ideology to the members of the Serbian population in the Habsburg monarchy, especially as overt political activism was perpetually restrained by the authorities. Copious Serbian choral societies, present throughout southern Hungary, were by far the most widespread mode of creating Serbian social networks, and the number of people engaged in these societies surpassed any other form of social organisation.[8] During the nineteenth century, a rising number of Serbian families could afford to buy a piano, which also meant that music-making at home became an important part of people's everyday life. In the discourse on Serbian national territories, music and the activity of composers played an important part, as music proved to be a significant means of rendering ideas of Serbian lands more tangible.[9] In the absence of other audio-visual media, medleys of songs from certain Serbian lands were the best way for Serbs – members of choral societies – to create concrete ideas of these distant

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[4] Cited by Vukčević, 337.

[5] Ibid. 338.

[6] Ibid. 340.

[7] See *Gusle. Zvanično glasilo Saveza srpskih pevačkih društava* (Gusle. Official newsletter of the Union of Serbian Choral Societies), 1/1 (1911)–4/5 (1914).

[8] See Tatjana Marković, *Transfiguracije srpskog romantizma: muzika u kontekstu studija kulture* (Transfigurations of the Serbian Romanticism: Music in the Context of Cultural Studies) (Belgrade: Univerzitet umetnosti u Beogradu, 2005).

[9] On the role of music in building group identities see Ray Hudson, 'Regions and Place: Music, Identity and Place', *Progress in Human Geography*, 30/5 (2006), 626–634.

spaces. This may have prompted a number of Serbian composers, first from Austro-Hungary and later from the Principality of Serbia as well, to dedicate their compositions to the subject of Montenegro.

Browsing the primary sources – in the Archive of the Institute of Musicology SASA and the collection of choral compositions edited by Božidar Lukić[10] – it is possible to offer an overview of compositions that are tied to the theme of Montenegro (see Table 1). In addition to the choral songs and medleys of choral songs – the most performed being *IX Garland, From Montenegro* by Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac – one finds an array of piano compositions by composers such as Jovan Paču which were popular among the emerging Serbian bourgeoisie in southern Hungary, and constituted a significant part of everyday life of the Serbian elite.[11]

Author	Composition (original title and translation)[12]	Genre
Ivan Zajc (1832–1914)	'Crnogorac Crnogorki' (Montenegrino to Montenegrina)	Choral song
Davorin Jenko (1835–1914)	'Naš kršni dome' (Our Home in Karsts)	Choral song
Evgenije Stojanović (1837–1903)	'Crnoj Gori' (To Montenegro)	Choral song/hymn
Evgenije Stojanović	'Crnogorac Crnogorki' (Montenegrino to Montenegrina) (unfinished)	Choral song
Aksentije Maksimović (1844–1873)	*Pesme iz Maksima Crnojevića* (Songs from Maksim Crnojević)	Collection of songs
Jovan Paču (1847–1902)	*Crnogorskom vojniku* (To the Montenegrin Soldier)	Piano miniature
Jovan Paču	*Onamo, onamo* (Thither, Thither)	Piano miniature
Stevan Mokranjac (1856–1914)	*IX rukovet, Iz Crne Gore* (IX Garland, From Montenegro, 1896)	Medley of choral songs

Table 1. Compositions with subjects concerning Montenegro, up to the First World War

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[10] Božidar D. Lukić (ed.), *Partiture nacionalno-patriotskih i verskih pesama. Muški horovi. I kniga* (Scores of National-Patriotic and Religious Songs) (Belgrade: Vojni geografaski instutut Ministarstva vojske i mornarice u Beogradu, 1928).

[11] See Dragana Jeremić-Molnar, *Srpska klavirska muzika u doba romantizma (1841–1914)* (Serbian Piano Music in the Age of Romanticism (1841–1914)) (Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 2006).

[12] Unfortunately it has not been possible to date all the compositions since most of the manuscripts, as well as printed editions, are undated and secondary literature is scarce.

Not only did the extra-musical content of these compositions remind the participants of the various musical events of the moral values of Montenegro as the 'Serbian Sparta'; the music itself also fostered the attempts to recreate the distant, desolate and ascetic landscape of Montenegro. The most valuable clue is provided by Peter Konjović, composer and music writer, author of the most influential study on Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, who described the *IX Garland, From Montenegro* using the following terms:

> Mala i siromašna, zbiljski sa kamena i od kamena, ona se impozira, nametne i nadvlada svojom goletošću – da ne bismo rekli: golotinjom. Kao ono jednoliki i jednostruni zvuk guslarski kada, pogodivši diskretnu meru, ume daleko više nego da impresionira – da prikriva.[13]

> Small and poor, made of stone and raised on stone, it still impresses, stands out and overwhelms with its bareness – or rather: nakedness. Just like the monotonous single-string sound of gusle that, even if it impresses, by getting the discreet balance right – manages to hide even more.

Was there a specific imaginary sound of the 'Serbian Sparta'? How was it rendered using certain compositional means? In some of these compositions it is possible to discern certain compositional devices – such as austere tunes and hollow harmonies – employed to create this imaginary soundscape. Starting with Edward Lippmann's discussion on intersensory relations and emotive response as possible types of symbolism in music, it is possible to speak about ways in which space and spatiality are being suggested in some of these compositions.[14] On one hand, wide chords and large intervals, together with unison sound, bespeak of spatial distance and reverberation in the song 'Our Home in Karsts'. On the other hand, certain harmonic solutions – incisive non-harmonic tones, pelting doubled octaves, and so on – may be invocative of austere and harsh Montenegrin landscapes, as well as of the noble savageness of its warriors.

As an example one can cite the beginning of the composition *To the Montenegrin Soldier* by Jovan Paču (Example 1). Paču's composition is in march tempo, while the left hand part is mainly written in unison octaves. Particularly interesting are the harmonic solutions in bars 4 and 8, where, first in A minor and then in C major, the composer clashes an 'empty'

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[13] Petar Konjović, 'Stevan St. Mokranjac', in *Dejan Despić and Vlastimir Peričić* (eds.), *Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac: Život i delo* (Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac: Life and Work) (Belgrade: Zavod za uđbenike i nastavna sredstva; Knjaževac: Not, 1999), 70. It is particularly interesting to study the role of the Montenegrin song collection by Ludvík Kuba (*Album Černohorské*, Prague: Private edition, 1890) in creating these effects, given that Mokranjac accepted some of Kuba's non-orthodox harmonic renderings of the songs he included in the *IX Garland*. On Mokranjac's Garlands as a project of mapping the Serbian national territory see Biljana Milanović, 'Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac i aspekti etniciteta i nacionalizma' (Stevan Stojanović and the aspects of ethnicity and nationalism), in Ivana Perković Radak and Tijana Popović-Mlađenović (eds.), *Mokranjcu na dar. 2006. Prošeta – čudnih čuda kažu – 150 godina. 1856* (To Mokranjac as a Gift. 2006. I've Spent – a Strange Wonder, they all Say – 150 Years. 1856) (Belgrade: Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, 2006), 33–53.

[14] Edward A. Lippman, *The Philosophy & Aesthetics of Music* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 10–19.

dominant fifth in the treble part with the empty tonic octave in the bass. The effect is stronger in bar 8, in C major, especially due to the use of a very low register of the piano, where one almost loses sense of pitch and harmonic functions, and the effect is one of a pure sonic nature. Similar procedures can be found in the choral compositions by Eugene Stojanović. In his hymn 'To Montenegro', which the composer had luxuriously bound and dispatched to Prince Nikola as a gift,[15] one finds the voices laid out in a fashion which suggests spatial expansion, while in the sketches for the choir 'Montenegrino to Montenegrina' the composer indicated unison octaves in the male voices part for almost the entire duration of the composition (Example 2). Comparing compositions that dealt with themes related to Montenegro, it is possible, therefore, to discern compositional means and sonic qualities through which composers and the members of the audiences imagined 'the sound of the "Serbian Sparta"'.

Example 1. Jovan Pača, *To Montenegrin Soldier*, bb. 1–12
(Reproduced by kind permission of the Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade)

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[15] Belgrade, Archive of the Institute of Musicology SASA, MI-XVII / An-814, Stanka Dimitrijević, Biografija Evgenija Stojanovića (The Biography of Evgenije Stojanović).
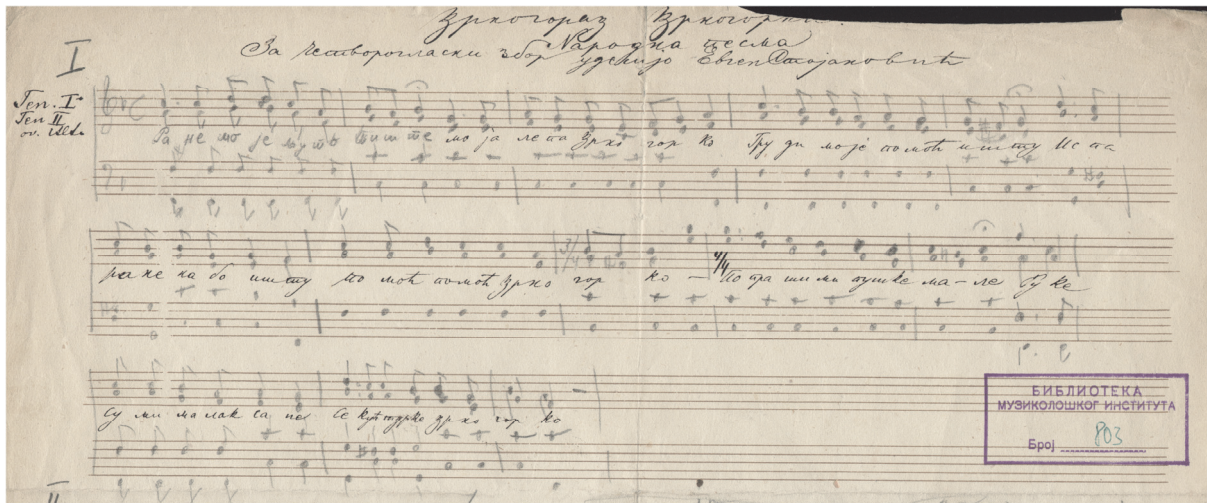
Example 2. Eugene Stojanović, *Montenegrino to Montenegrina*, sketch
(Reproduced by kind permission of the Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade)

Approaches to Ancient Greek Mythology
in Contemporary Serbian Music: Ideological Contexts[*]

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ABSTRACT: In contemporary Serbian music the opuses of two composers, Vlastimir Trajković (1947) and Aleksandra-Anja Đorđević (1970), stand out as marked by their interest in themes from ancient Greek mythology. It is quite possible that Trajković, as Đorđević's professor of composition at the Belgrade Faculty of Music, instilled his great admiration for ancient Greek culture into the mind of his talented student. This paper will be focused on the different approaches to those themes in the works of those two composers, which could be seen as resulting not only from their different artistic personalities, but also from their different age and the changes music has undergone in the recent times.

Among the most important achievements of Trajković could be counted two works without vocal parts: *Arion, le nuove musiche* (Arion, The New Music), Op. 8, for guitar and strings (1979), and *Le Retour des Zéphyres… ou 'Zefiro torna…': Trois tableaux vivants de scènes mythologiques* (Zephyrus Returns… or 'Zefiro torna…': Three Live Images of Mythological Scenes), for flute, viola and piano (2003). They clearly demonstrate the composer's strong inclination to the cultural heritage of ancient Greece as a whole, which he regards as an everlasting inspiration for renewal in the arts and music. It is important to add that Trajković feels that in modern music this valuable heritage has been interpreted in most imaginative ways in the works of Claude Debussy and Maurice Ravel, to whom the second and third movement of *Zephyrus Returns* are dedicated. As expected, his own music has marked neo-impressionistic traits.

On the other hand, Anja Đorđević regards ancient Greek mythology as a rich well for universalising her critical views on the relations among individuals in the (post)modern society. In her chamber opera *Narcissus and Echo* (2002) and stage cantata *Atlas* (2008), both composed on original libretti, she deals with the issues of narcissism, fate, rebellion and freedom. Especially in the opera, she displays a postmodernist sensibility, a high sense of irony and parody, and leans heavily on pop music.

In contemporary Serbian music the opuses of two composers, Vlastimir Trajković (1947) and Aleksandra-Anja Đorđević (1970), stand out as marked by their interest in themes from ancient Greek mythology. It is quite possible that Trajković, as Đorđević's professor of composition at the Belgrade Faculty of Music, instilled his great admiration for ancient Greek culture into the mind of his talented student. This paper will be focused on the different approaches to those themes in the works of those two composers, which could be seen as resulting not only from their different artistic personalities, but also from their different age and the changes Serbian music has undergone in the recent times.

Before proceeding to the main issues, a short overview of Serbian composers' attitude towards ancient Greek mythology will be given. The list of those works in twentieth-century Serbian art music is not a particularly long one. The reason for that could be found most certainly in the predominant orientation, at least in the first half of the century, towards subjects from Serbian cultural heritage, with the aim of creating a National School of music. After a modest collection of only a handful of works dealing with ancient Greek topics composed before 1945, the two post-war decades saw a growing number of pieces of different genres inspired by those themes: several operas and ballets, an oratorio, a cycle of songs, and incidental music. It is difficult to be certain about the reasons for this heightened interest, especially as the quantity of works was still not very high. It may simply be that the then younger generations wished to enlarge the programmatic scope of their works towards ancient Greek (and Roman) subjects, that were seen as universal – belonging to all humanity. The interest has stayed more or less the same until today.

Attention will be first drawn to the output of Trajković, which is considered not only to be highly accomplished from the artistic point of view, but also to possess markers of certain ideological contents which invite interpretation.

Born in 1947, Trajković began to study in the post-serialist time, when the crisis of post-war avant-garde was quite evident. He graduated in composition from the Belgrade Music Academy with Vasilije Mokranjac (1923–1984), a highly respected Serbian composer who, although himself very cautious in his approach to modern trends, encouraged his pupils to follow their creative curiosity in all possible directions.

In this paper two of Trajković's works will be discussed from the point of view of a contemporary (Serbian) composer's will to situate his world of music within the rich European tradition, that had Greek culture as an important source of inspiration for renewal in critical moments of its history. Trajković's works make evident his strong inclination to the Franco-Latin current of European music, whose outstanding creative periods – such as the Renaissance, eighteenth-century Classicism, and Impressionism – were different interpretations of ancient Greek culture.

After his earliest attempts to compose in the late 1960s, Trajković was drawn towards twentieth-century French music, more specifically towards the works of Debussy and Ravel. He decided to spend the years 1977 and 1978 in Paris in order to continue his studies in the class of Olivier Messiaen. His case was unique, as his generation of Serbian composers were mostly attracted by the possibilities offered by Polish avant-garde music. Trajković obviously felt that there still existed some new approaches to music that would strive neither towards the continuation of avant-garde trends, nor towards post-modernist 'games'. As a result, his output contains elements of different styles well merged, which in most works create a kind of post-impressionistic effect and atmosphere, balanced and clear form, with complex harmonic and rhythmic organisation.[1] Trajković also shows a refined feeling for suggesting

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[1] Trajković's works have received laudable remarks from Olivier Messiaen and Alexandre Tansman, among others: 'Vlastimir Trajković […] est un compositeur yougoslave de très grand talent. Il possède une nature poétique, un sens très aigu des timbres et des harmonies rares, et une excellente technique orchestrale […]

the changeable pace of time and its illusionary effects, which was one among many aspects that drew him to the music of Debussy, as shown in *Tempora retenta* for symphonic orchestra (1971), one of his first fully-accomplished works. Exploring the modal harmonies in the works of French modernists, especially those of Debussy, Ravel and Messiaen, he developed his own use of harmony, tending towards sensuous and more relaxed harmonic landscapes, thus rejecting the line of harsh sounds and atonal climates of much of post-1945 music. The world of Franco-Latin Europe had always been close to him, and in some works he also expressed high esteem for the ancient Greek heritage, specifically that of mythology, as will be shown shortly. One detail could also shed some light on Trajković's special relations to the ancient Greek culture. Namely, he insisted that the titles of the three movements of his Concerto for piano and orchestra in B flat major (1990) should be always written in Greek, in the original or in transcription: 1. Stasis. Anochē. Hypostasis, 2. Achthos. Episkepsis. Ēsychia, 3. Diaponēmata. Apolysis.[2] Trajković's Concerto for viola and orchestra in G minor (1993) also has subtitles in Greek: 1. Theseis kai metatheseis prōtai (First Theses and Metatheses); 2. Nēnemia. Algos ēsychaion (The Windless Landscape. A Tacit Pain); 3. Theseis kai metatheseis deyterai (Second Theses and Metatheses). Some of his works make use of Italian or French for the same purpose. For instance, his Sonata for flute and piano (1986) and his Sonata for violin and viola (1987) have Italian texts. They are French and Italian in *Le Retour des Zéphyres... ou 'Zefiro torna': Trois tableaux vivants de scènes mythologiques* (Zephyrus Returns, … or 'Zefiro torna…': Three Live Images of Mythological

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Son *Duo* pour piano et orchestre, d'une écriture très forte et très puissante, est probablement son chef-d'œuvre, et, en tout cas, une pièce d'une rare beauté' (Vlastimir Trajković […] is a Yugoslav composer of very great talent. He is endowed with a poetical nature, and possesses an acute sense of timbres and original harmonies, as well as an excellent orchestral technique [...] His *Duo* for piano and orchestra, of a very strong and very powerful writing, probably his masterpiece, is certainly a work of exceptional beauty). Olivier Messiaen in the brochure about Vlastimir Trajković, published in French, Éditions Max Eschig, Paris, 1979. Also: 'Je […] considère [Vlastimir Trajković] comme une révélation d'un talent hors-pair, se détachant sur le fond changeant de la création contemporaine des dernières années, par une individualité forte où une vitalité puissante est liée à une poésie très attachante […] Son œuvre se révèle comme une admirable (et, aujourd'hui, rare) synthèse de l'invention intuitive et de l'intelligence constructive et contrôlée, où rien n'est gratuit' (I consider him [Vlastimir Trajković] a revelation of a peerless talent standing out on the changing background of the contemporary creation of these last years, as a talent of powerful individuality in which strong vitality combines with a very appealing poetic imagination [...] His music reveals itself as an admirable (and nowadays rare) synthesis of intuitive invention and constructional, controlled intelligence, without anything gratuitous). Alexandre Tansman in the same brochure.

[2] The words are in ancient Greek but are still used and are common in modern Greek:
Anochē means forbearance, endurance, allowance.
Hypostasis (produced from hypo, meaning under, and stasis) means the foundation, something that supports; also, the essence, the substance (which is the latinisation of hypostasis). It is also the name of a category of neumes in Byzantine music notation.
Achthos means weight, burden, as well as sorrow, grief.
Episkepsis (deriving from epi (on) and skepsis (thought)) means in ancient Greek a looking at, inspection, consideration, reflexion. In Modern Greek its most common use is: visit.
Ēsychia means stillness, quiet, silence.
Diaponēmata is very little used in Modern Greek. It is the plural of *diaponēma* that means a work or anything achieved through hard labour, proving a theory.
Apolysis means release, deliverance. It is used in church for the end of the liturgy.
I am grateful to Prof. Katy Romanou for kindly providing me with the meaning of those terms.

Scenes) for flute, viola and piano (2003), and exclusively French in *D'aiguières et d'alcarazas* (Jugs and Stoups, 2002). All these carefully formulated texts indicate the specific worlds of culture closest to Trajković, those with which he has always felt strongest relatedness.

Before approaching *Arion* and *Zephyrus Returns*, the two works announced in the abstract of this paper, a short comment will be given on *Epimetheus* for organ, a piece preceding the other two. It was written in 1977, at the time when Trajković was staying in Paris as Messiaen's student, but, maybe surprisingly, it does not hold any reference to the music of the French master. Instead, the influence of American minimalism may be detected, which would prove to be more than just a passing interest for the composer. The three movements bear the titles 'Epimētheys' (Epimetheus), 'To kouti tēs Pandōras' (Pandora's Box) and 'Elpis mataia' (Futile Hope).

One may wonder in which way the titles of the work and of its movements relate to the music. It is significant that Trajković, according to his own testimony,[3] gave those titles only upon having finished the piece; he became aware then of the 'minimalistically-pagan sound of the work' and found it suitable to put titles referring to the ancient Greek myth. The same applies to his other works, to mention just *Arion* and *Zephyrus Returns* – and not only to their titles and subtitles, but also to the glosses and dedications they hold, all those texts being viewed as 'corresponding in a relevant way' with the musical text.

The first piece that will be discussed is *Arion – le nuove musiche* for guitar and strings (1979), whose first performances were received with great surprise by the Belgrade public, accustomed as they were to the often aggressive avant-garde music of younger composers, since the fifteen-minute-long piece was almost defiantly gentle and peaceful. Its title refers to the monodic *stile recitativo* – an allusion to Giulio Caccini's collection of madrigals and arias *Le nuove musiche* (1602). Trajković's work obviously pleads for a reappraisal of the post-1945 development of art music, rejecting the obsessive avant-garde search for novelties. As is well known, Caccini's 'new music' was an important contribution to the aspirations of certain Italian composers of his time to create music that would possess new expressivity – 'a kind of music by which men might, as it were, talk in harmony' (as he writes in the Introduction to his collection).[4] Trajković's *Arion* has no vocal parts; the 'new expressivity' is explored there within the frame of monodic writing in the strings, but also, in a way, in the guitar part.

Six verses by the Roman poet Ovid from the *Fastorum liber secundus* stand as a motto of the work, which make reference to the legend of Arion, and are linked with the disappearance of the Dolphin constellation on 3 February.

> Inde (fide maius) tergo delphina recurvo
> Se memorant oneri supposuisse novo.
> Ille sedens citharamque tenens pretiumque vehendi
> Cantat et aequoreas carmine mulcet aquas.

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[3] Related to the author of this paper.
[4] See Oliver Strunk (ed.), *Source Readings in Music History* (New York: Norton, 1950), 378.

Di pia facta vident: astris delphina recepit
Iuppiter et stellas iussit habere novem

Then (beyond belief) they say a dolphin
Yielded its back to the unaccustomed weight.
Sitting there, Arion gripped the lyre, and paid his fare
In song, soothing the ocean waves with his singing.
The gods see good deeds: Jupiter took the dolphin
And ordered its constellation to contain nine stars[5]
(*Fasti*, II. 113–118)

A poet and singer from Lesbos, inventor of dithyramb, Arion could be compared to Orpheus. After having stayed in Sicily and southern Italy (Magna Graecia) for some time, he wished to return to Greece, but was aggressed by the sailors of the boat. He obtained the favour of singing one last time and then took the chance to escape, jumping into the sea, where he was saved by a dolphin charmed by his song. Jupiter then welcomed Arion among the stars and transformed the eight-star constellation of the Dolphin into a nine-star one.

Known for his inclination to supply the scores of his (almost exclusively instrumental) works with comments regarding his aesthetical aims and performance details, Trajković also added a short text on the occasion of the premiere of the work:[6]

Arion…
Nebeski svirač; nebeski pevač;
Arion…
Sklad, jednostavnost, tonalnost, ponavljanje…
PONAVLJANJE…
opsesivno ponavljanje.
Tok.
Vreme od vremena.
Vremena vreme.
VREME
VREEEME
VREEEEEME
Kajros i Hronos

Arion...
heavenly player; heavenly singer;
Arion…
Harmony, simplicity, tonality, repetition...
REPETITION…
obsessive repetition.
Flow.

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[5] Translated by A. S. Kline <http://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/OvidFastiBkTwo.htm#Toc69367684>, accessed 10 January 2012.

[6] Trajković wrote this text for a group of his colleagues, but he never published it. It was reproduced in: Mirjana Veselinović, *Stvaralačka prisutnost evropske avangarde u nas* (The Creative Presence of European Avant-garde in Serbia) (Belgrade: Univerzitet umetnosti, 1983), 397.

Time from times.
TIME
THE TIME
IN TIME
Kairos and Chronos

Although Trajković has not been willing to reproduce this text ever since the premiere, it is quoted here as a relevant testimony to the author's aims concerning the emotional climate of the piece. Another comment by Trajković, cited in the booklet that accompanies the CD of his music, completes the author's perspective: 'This is *Greek* music, Mediterranean music, a musical harmony of natural elements, but above all, *Arion* is an apotheosis of the aquatic component, that of the Sea, a sea of which the surface is not agitated but perfectly calm. The music is serious, more *Doric* than *Ionic*'.[7]

To sum up: Trajković, as author of the work, found it necessary to make the listeners of *Arion* aware of his cultural and artistic preferences, by linking the work (1) to Greek and Roman mythology (the title); (2) to Roman poetry (Ovid's verses); (3) to the Renaissance movement, itself of course, linked to antiquity (Caccini's collection); (4) to Trajković's own aesthetics based on 'harmony, simplicity, tonality, repetition' (fragment from his comment on the work); as well as to his high esteem of ancient Greek culture as a whole ('This is *Greek* music…'). The music of *Arion* corresponds fully to the exposed program: its character is meditative and slightly nostalgic, objectively distanced; the sounding of the chords are prolonged and separated by pauses, suggesting tranquillity and stillness; the effect of simplicity is achieved through the use of minimalistic and repetitive techniques, the harmony is monodic and tonal (modal). At the time (1979), those features were regarded as almost subversive, since avant-garde thinking was still considered to be a necessary requirement for a piece of new music to be considered as 'serious' and 'responsible', at least in Serbia (itself part of ex-Yugoslavia). Trajković's affinity with the aesthetics of Impressionism, concretely of Debussy and Ravel, could be observed in the refined sonorities and sensuous harmonies of *Arion*, its static quality and quasi-improvisatory effects, with subtle changes of tempi. Eight sustained chords – whose modal sounds can be easily associated to jazz, presented successively in the strings from the very start, and followed by eight short melodies of modal features in the guitar part – are conceived as an introduction to the central sections, in which the singing of Arion is evoked in the strings with magical effects of glissandi and flageolet-tones, whereas the guitar part illustrates the mythical singer as accompanying himself on the lyre.

The other work by Trajković that is worth mentioning in the context of ancient Greek mythological subjects is *Zephyrus Returns*, after Petrarch (1304–1374), for flute, viola and piano (2003). Subtly evoking far-away landscapes and mythical events, illustrating them at some points (mild winds, waves on the sea surface, sprinkling water, bird singing) or

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[7] Neda Bebler, liner notes of the CD: Trajković, *Arion, Ballad and Ten Preludes, Piano Impromptu, The Defence of Our City* (PGP RTS, 431081, 2001), 6.

marking the presence of the main 'phenomena' and 'characters' (the appearance of which –
for instance of Mars, Venus and Harmonia in the second movement and that of 'The stars
turning pale' in the first – is indicated in the score), the composer creates luminous and
magical sound images, rich with inner movements, but at the same time preserves control
over them, suggesting nevertheless a marked sense of freedom. Constant, but almost
imperceptible changes of the musical material on the micro-level lead to moments when
the need is felt for introducing new material, which is never done by sharp contrast. The
imaginative and refined ametrical rhythmical animation of the musical material produces
the effect of fluidity and dematerialisation – as suitable to suggest emotions born from
meditations on the eternal Nature and man's confrontation with the World and its Mystery.
The third movement is imbued with dance rhythms, which is most probably to be
understood as a gesture of honouring Maurice Ravel's poetics of dance.

As is often the case, in his wish to explain his poetic inspiration Trajković supplied the
score of the piece with a number of interesting texts which give valuable insight into the
work. A sentence from Simone Weil's *L'Enracinement* (The Need for Roots, 1943) serves as a
motto for the whole work: 'L'acquisition des connaissances fait approcher de la vérité quand
il s'agit de la connaissance de ce qu'on aime et en aucun autre cas' (The acquisition of
knowledge brings one nearer to the truth when it comes to cognition of something one
loves, and only in that case). This thought could perhaps be interpreted as a call to bring
together rational and emotional energies while attempting to achieve a creative act worthy
of that name. The other texts figuring in the score indicate that the composer was inspired
by a sonnet of Petrarch, whose beginning became the title of the musical work: *Zefiro torna.*
That same sonnet was chosen by Claudio Monteverdi for the composition of a five-part
madrigal, which was published in his Book VI of *Madrigals* (1614), a piece of which Trajković
is particularly fond. Petrarch's poem is built upon the contrast between the return of spring,
which brings with it the rebirth of life and love, and the poet's separateness from that joyful
event due to the death of his beloved. He is insensitive to the beauty of nature, whose
forces are evoked through the mythological figures of Jupiter, Venus, Procne and
Philomena. It is quite possible, and maybe it has been proved, that Petrarch wrote that
sonnet moved by the premature death of his beloved Laura. The same was the case with
Monteverdi, whose madrigal on those verses of Petrarch was a tribute to his wife, who had
died seven years earlier (1607).

The first movement is entitled 'Céphale et Aurore aux doigts de rose: Louange de la brise
de matin venue des astres pâlissants' (Cephalus and Rosy-Fingered Aurora: Praise to the
Morning Breeze Coming from the Stars Turning Pale). The reference to the breeze is made
because the myth of Cephalus (prince of Thessaly and grandson of Aeolus, god of winds) and
his wife Procris tells us that he used to talk to the breeze as if it were a woman, thus
provoking some confusion. Procris' subsequent jealousy towards Aurora, the goddess of
Dawn, eventually led to Procris' fatal death. The second movement bears the title 'Mars et
Vénus anadyomène: Louange de la nymphe Harmonie, l'esprit du Monde, issue d'eux deux,
le dieux et la déesse' (Mars and Venus Rising from the Sea: Praise of the Nymph Harmonia,

the Essence of the World, Issued from the Two of Them, the God and the Goddess)*. There is no allusion to a mythological story connected to Harmonia (for instance that of her cursed necklace), the names of Harmonia and her parents being sufficiently symbolic. The title of the third and last movement is 'Danaé et Jupiter, pluie d'or: Louange de Persée, le triomphateur de la Gorgone Méduse' (Danae and Jupiter, Golden Rain: Praise of Perseus, Victor over the Gorgon Medusa).[8]

One may wonder why Trajković chose precisely those three mythological stories for his work. Although it may seem that there are no thematic links among them, it could be proposed that common elements are noticeable in the symbolism of Zephyrus, a divinity that certainly does not stand accidentally in the title of the whole work. Zephyrus is a wind god, blowing from the West, and is associated with the first season of the year, as bringer of light spring and early summer breezes. The gentlest of the winds, Zephyrus is also known for being a fructifying wind, helping men's work in the fields. Zephyrus is sometimes accompanied by Aura (as in Botticelli's *Birth of Venus*), the female light wind whose name means *breeze* in Latin. That name is the Latin version of Eos/Aura/Aurora, one of the main figures in the myth of Cephalus alluded to in the first movement of the work.

It may seem clear now that all those narratives (Petrarch's sonnet and the three mythological stories forming part of Trajković's music) are centred on the celebration of nature's beauty and force, and for obvious reasons spring is the main symbol of those forces, especially of rebirth and youth. We shall return to those keywords a little later.

It could be observed that the first two of the three basic elements of nature mentioned in Petrarch's poem – air, water and ground (*l'aria, l'acqua, la terra*) – that are 'full of love' have an important place in all the three mythological stories chosen by Trajković: air/wind in the first movement ('Cephalus and Rosy-Fingered Aurora'), then water in the form of the sea in the second movement ('Mars and Venus Rising from the Sea') and water in the form of Golden Rain in the last movement ('Danae and Jupiter, Golden Rain'). That can explain why the music of Trajković's work is so extremely delicate and refined, being a musical representation of fluidity, weightlessness and transparency. The atmosphere is meditative and the style a kind of Neo-Impressionism, with complex and refined harmonies and delicate colouring.

As has been said earlier, Trajković always felt very close to French music and that of other Latin countries, especially Spain, as well as that of Slavic countries. So, who is missing here? In the first place Austrian and German music, those that are almost never omitted! In some of his published texts Trajković has elaborated his views on much of twentieth-century music, which, according to him, took a wrong direction when it accepted the course led by Schoenberg and his twelve-tone music. He exposed there his admiration for the other direction, that of Debussy's 'hybrid modality, a system capable of organizing the totality of a

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[8] Perseus is the son of that god and Danae, a mortal girl.

new and systematic morphological dynamism'.[9] Another thought of Trajković is worth mentioning in the context of this paper: by drawing attention to the ancient Greek modes, he observed that the chromatic genus was projected into Debussy's '*fully three-dimensional chromatic musical space of* […] *hybrid modality*; a projection of the ancient enharmonic genus being expected to occur only with bi- and poly-modality, the systems to be found already in Debussy, but also in early Stravinsky, in Prokofiev, in late Ravel, late De Falla and in the music of *The Six*'.[10]

Some other layers of meaning of Trajković's *Zephyrus Returns* are provided by the composer's dedications of each of the three movements to the memory of a person he held in especially high esteem. He provided only initials of those names, but the enigmas are easily solved thanks to the concise elaborations. The first movement is written 'à la mémoire de D. G., le fondateur de la morphologie générale' (in memory of D[ragutin] G[ostuški], the founder of general morphology), the second 'à la mémoire de C. D., le seul vrai fondateur de la seule musique moderne digne de ce nom' (in memory of C[laude] D[ebussy], the only true founder of the only truly modern music worthy of that name), and the third 'à la mémoire de M. R. qui eu la fantaisie exquise de ne viser les splendeurs de l'antiquité grecque qu'à travers l'optique du Siècle des lumières' (in memory of M[aurice] R[avel], whose exquisite fantasy led him to contemplate the splendours of Greek antiquity only through the optics of the Century of Enlightenment). The three dedications make one complete picture, that of the composer's world of music and art. Dragutin Gostuški (1923–1998) was a Serbian aesthetician, musicologist and composer, whose writings Trajković considered to be extremely valuable, in particular his book *Vreme umetnosti. Prilog zasnivanju jedne opšte nauke o oblicima* (The Time of the Arts. A Contribution to the Foundation of a General Morphology, 1968).[11] Among the ideas exposed in the book, Trajković seems to have been particularly impressed by those of the periodical recurrence of Classicism in European art, the identification of the appearance of opera by the end of the sixteenth century, and the short subsequent dominance of monody as Renaissance in music – not as early Baroque, which had often been asserted in histories of music. According to Gostuški, the last time Classicism was 're-incarnated' in art music was at the beginning of the twentieth century, but then it was not powerful enough to provide a stylistic frame of longer duration. As had been the case with the Renaissance and eighteenth-century Classicism, the supposed Classicism of the early twentieth century was the consequence of a will to restore classical values, to regenerate art and music, hand in hand with the simplification of forms. Now, as we very well know, the beginning of the twentieth century was a time when very diverse developments took place, among which most noteworthy

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[9] Vlastimir Trajković, 'Thinking the Rethinking (of the Notion of) Modernity (in Music)', in Dejan Despić and Melita Milin (eds.), *Rethinking Musical Modernism* (Belgrade: Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and Institute of Musicology SASA, 2008), 30–31.

[10] Ibid. 31.

[11] Dragutin Gostuški, *Vreme umetnosti. Prilog zasnivanju jedne opšte nauke o oblicima* (Beograd: Muzikološki institut and Prosveta, 1968).

were those linked to the achievements of Debussy in Paris and those of Schoenberg in Vienna. In his book Gostuški did not connect his idea of a new Classicism/Renaissance with any movement in particular, but he mentioned in that context the works of different composers: Schoenberg, Berg, Debussy, Satie, Stravinsky, without elaborating their relatedness to his idea of Classicism/Renaissance. It was Trajković who in some of his writings undertook to discuss that hypothesis of a new Classicism which he called Modernism. According to him, it was Debussy who had performed a kind of modernistic revolution by giving his creative response to the crisis of tonality, which preoccupied his contemporaries. So, Trajković wrote: 'The historical crisis of tonality had been solved around 1900, Modern musical times began in Paris, the rotten classical tonality having been succeeded not by traditionalist and "devoted" disciples of Germany's "three-great-Bs", but by Debussy's system of genuinely novel *hybrid modality*, a system capable of organizing *the totality of a new and systematic morphological dynamism*'.[12] Trajković then expands on 'a projection of Ancient Greek chromatic genus into the *fully three-dimensional chromatic musical space* of Debussy's hybrid modality' – thus making an implicit claim that Debussy's 'modernist revolution' stood for a kind of twentieth-century Classicism/Renaissance.

Let us return now to Trajković's two works, *Arion* and *Zephyrus Returns*. Taking into account both his music and his writings, we can notice a firm logic in the relations between the two spheres. One line is drawn from the ancient Greek myths via Renaissance poetry (Petrarch) and music (Caccini, Monteverdi) to French modernist music (Debussy, Ravel, Messiaen); the other line is an assertion of the importance of modality/non-functional harmony in the history of music, and it starts with ancient Greek modes, it has its high point in sixteenth-century modality, and is reborn in the early twentieth-century different kinds of (hybrid) modalities.

Sensitivity to the culture of ancient Greece, noticeable with the French composers at the turn of the nineteenth century and during the next decades, cannot be viewed separately from the wider movement in French arts of the times that sought to (re)defining national identity, which was felt to be threatened by German art in the first place. Looking back at the glorious history of French music, composers could not but react positively to the charm of eighteenth-century French Classicism, which was itself largely inspired by ancient Greek art and culture. Ravel speaks thus about the vision of 'the Greece of his dreams', which inspired his *Daphnis and Chloé*: 'Mon intention en l'écrivant était de composer une vaste fresque musicale, moins soucieuse d'archaïsme que de fidélité à la Grèce de mes rêves, qui s'apparente assez volontiers à celle qu'ont imaginé et dépeinte les artistes français de la fin du XVIIIe siècle' (My intention, in writing it, was to compose a vast musical fresco, less thoughtful of archaism, than of fidelity to the Greece of my dreams, which identifies quite willingly with that imagined and depicted by late eighteenth-century French artists).[13]

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[12] Trajković, 'Thinking the Rethinking (of the Notion of) Modernity (in Music)', 30–31.

[13] Maurice Ravel, 'Esquisse autobiographique (rédigée en octobre 1928 par Roland Manuel, sous la dictée de l'auteur)', *La Revue musicale* (special issue) (1938), 21–22.

It is possible to observe in Trajković's works a similar aesthetic attitude towards those specific epochs of the past, including some features related to those of the Impressionists' – especially Debussy's – world of the Idyllic, to his vision of Arcadia.[14] To that should be added Trajković's marked affinity with the musical language of those French composers, so it should not come as a surprise that his music, similar to that of the great Impressionists, is introspective, serene, with the prolonged duration of musical events bringing moments of complete silence, refined sonorities derived from post-Messiaen modal harmonies and complex and subtle metrical organisation. His music is evocative and descriptive in ways similar to those of Debussy and Messiaen: not only do the titles often have poetic qualities, but also the scores have verbal indications similar to those in Messiaen's works.

Whereas Trajković's works commented above – *Epimetheus*, *Arion*, and *The Return of Zephyrus* – are purely instrumental, the output of Aleksandra-Anja Đorđević shows strong inclinations to chamber music with vocal elements (usually solo female voices). Two among her works deserve attention in the context of the topic of this paper and they both belong to musical theatre genres: the chamber opera *Narcis i Eho* (Narcissus and Echo, 2002) and the stage cantata *Atlas* (2008)*.* Before approaching those works, first a short glimpse at the composer's career will be provided.

Đorđević was born in Belgrade in 1970. She studied composition at the Faculty of Music in the class of Trajković, and afterwards continued her studies with Zoran Erić to get an MA degree. Both her teachers are distinguished Serbian composers who had understanding for her affinity towards combining high and low genres in her works. Among other activities, she used to make arrangements for the music of Goran Bregović – an internationally renowned composer and performer of popular music – employing a mixture of different folk idioms originating mainly from the Balkans. She has also showed an early interest in writing music for theatre plays and dances. Thanks to her talent for singing, she has been a member of groups of musicians that performed both traditional Balkan music and contemporary art music. Đorđević has never been attached to an institution and lives as a freelance composer in Belgrade.

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[14] 'Les références à l'Arcadie ne se trouvent pas chez Debussy dans ses opéras mais plutôt dans ses œuvres orchestrales ou instrumentales, et non des moindres : *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune*, *Syrinx*, *Trois Chansons de Bilitis* sur un texte de Pierre Louÿs. On peut également citer chez Ravel, le *Daphnis et Chloé* (1912) et aussi *Écho et Narcisse* de Tcherepnine (1911), *Bacchus et Ariane* (1930) de Roussel et l'opéra de Jacques Ibert *Persée et Andromède* (1921), *Polyphème* de Jean Cras (1922)' (The references to Arcadia are not to be found in Debussy's operas, but rather in his orchestral or instrumental works, and those among them which are not the least important: *Prelude to the Afternoon of a Faun*, *Syrinx*, *Three Songs of Bilitis* on a text by Pierre Louÿs. One could also cite Ravel's *Daphnis and Chloé* (1912) and also *Echo and Narcisse* by Tcherepnin (1911), *Bacchus and Ariadne* (1930) by Roussel and the opera *Perseus and Andromeda* (1921) by Jacques Ibert, *Polyphemus* by Jean Cras (1922)). Quoted from Jacques Gilbert, 'Autour d'Elektra: Modernité, mythe et néoclassicisme', in Pascal Terrien (ed.), *Autour d'Elektra de Richard Strauss* (Les Cahiers du CERCI, 3; Nantes: Centre de Recherche sur les Conflits d'Interprétation, 2008), 31–46.

The libretto of *Narcissus and Echo*, written by the young poet Marija Stojanović, was inspired by the classical Greek myth of the nymph Echo, who fell in love with the handsome and vain hunter Narcissus, who was nevertheless incapable of loving anybody but himself. When he saw his own reflection in a pool, he fell in love with it, and not wishing to leave the spot, he eventually died (in some versions of the myth he committed suicide). The work, which is structured as a number opera in three short acts, takes place in modern times. It is centred on the self-obsessed yuppie Narcissus and the girl Echo, who loves him and is represented by her voice only (sung 'naturally', in a non-operatic way). The opera is heavily charged with layers of meaning that could invite psychoanalytical interpretations, among others. The overall tone is parodical and critical of the contemporary orientation towards corporeality, hedonism, and speedy social advancement – somehow strange in a country that had recently emerged from a nightmarish decade of wars in ex-Yugoslavia, and was highly traumatised by them. In an interview Đorđević gave for an Internet site she explained her attitude towards this work of hers:

> I think that it's a really modern story. It covers inhibition, selfishness – today those topics they seem more relevant than ever. We meet it everywhere, like a kind of illness. To quote the fashion designer Paco Rabbane [sic] on the topic, 'Narcissim is definitely the symbol of today. There is no doubt that the cult of the self is the dominant religion. People who choose to grow old, to die, to pass their experiences to their successors, to share anything with anybody. Tell me about myself because that's the only thing I'm interested in. Everybody wants to feel good, here and now, only he and nobody else'.[15]

These three short acts, performed without breaks, present the main motifs of the story in concentrated form. Besides Narcissus and Echo, the only other characters on stage are two Nymphs, conceived as a chorus along the lines of antique tragedies. The costumes they wear are contemporary: when Narcissus takes off his business suit, he keeps a sleeveless T-shirt, ready to exercise in a gym; Echo (performed by the composer herself) has a long, shimmering dress, designed in pop-star style; the Nymphs are heavily made-up, have their hair dyed black, and wear punk-style black outfits.

The first act consists of an Overture and four numbers. In numbers 1 and 3 the Nymphs comment on the story; Echo appears alone in No. 2; Narcissus, accompanied by the Nymphs, appears in No. 4. Thus the two main characters do not appear together on stage until numbers 3 and 4 of Act II, and from then on until the end they remain apart. That feature already indicates that the composer did not aim to present a dramatic action, but focussed instead on several fragments of the myth, which are interpreted freely. The libretto offers poetic transpositions of the myth's main arguments in the form of monologues, and comments, which would be difficult to follow if the Narcissus myth was not generally known. The ironical mood prevails in scenes centred on Narcissus, for instance

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[15] Emily Pearce, *Ten Minutes with Anja Djordjevic* <http://www.thepublicreviews.com/interview-ten-minutes-with-anja-djordjevic/>, accessed 19 December 2011.

in two 'Love Songs' in Act II, in which Echo promises that she will be 'colourless and transparent like glass' and that she will 'serve him as a lamp, a necessary thing, a *thing*'.

The musical models parodied in Đorđević's *Narcissus and Echo* are taken from baroque operas, so typical procedures are regular, motorised pulsations of small motif cells: for instance in the Overture and Nos. 2 and 4 (Marches) of Act III, or the *maestoso* dotted rhythms in Nos. 1 and 5 (Odes) of Act II. The music of No. 1 of Act II ('Narcissus' Aria') is most reminiscent of Baroque models. The composer parodies arias characteristic of that epoch through the use of typical ornamentations and motorised rhythm. She also – imaginatively – writes the vocal part for a counter-tenor, thus making reference to castrato arias. Baroque and minimalist-repetitive procedures are combined to contribute to the creation of this postmodern chamber opera, which communicates with and engages the public very well (as witnessed at performances both in Belgrade and during a tour in the United Kingdom).[16]

The vocal parts are basically of recitative and repetitive nature, with rare, short melismatic ornamentations, and the incorporation of elements from popular music, including music-hall and cabaret (most markedly in No. 1 of Act II, 'The Two Nymphs'). Those features lead us to suggest a link between Đorđević's *Narcissus and Echo* and the trend in interwar European stage works to present mixtures of heterogeneous elements, such as those taken from Singspiel, jazz and cabaret (for instances in pieces by Křenek, Milhaud and Weill). In contrast to those earlier works, Đorđević's opera does not pursue alienating effects, since its general mood is more ironical than satirical.

The other work by Đorđević which is relevant to our topic is her stage cantata *Atlas* for voice, narrator, and chamber orchestra (2008), based on the book *Weight: The Myth of Atlas and Heracles* by the contemporary British writer Jeanette Winterson. In an interview the composer said that she had always been interested in ancient myths, that still resound in our time.[17] She found the text she needed in Winterson's book, in whose preface the author summarised her motive for writing in the following way: '*Weight* moves far away from the simple story of Atlas's punishment and his temporary relief when Heracles takes the world off his shoulders. I wanted to explore loneliness, isolation, responsibility, burden, and freedom, too, because my version has a very particular end not found elsewhere'.[18] As could be expected, the author re-imagined the story of the myth, adding to it autobiographical passages with the aim of making obvious the relationships between the big and the small story. The titan Atlas (brother of Prometheus, Epimetheus and Menoetius)

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[16] The premiere of the opera – that has been previously awarded the most prestigious award for composers in Serbia, the *Mokranjac* prize – was performed on 10 October 2002 in the Belgrade Bitef theatre. Several other performances followed and more recently, in September 2011, several performances of the opera were given in English during a tour in the United Kingdom.

[17] S.L.R., 'Pop vokal u svetu kamerne muzike' (A Pop Singer in the World of Chamber Music), *Blic*, 3 October 2010 <http://www.blic.rs/Kultura/Vesti/209948/Pop-vokal-u-svetu-kamerne-muzike>, accessed 10 January 2012.

[18] Jeanette Winterson, *Weight. The Myth of Atlas and Heracles* (Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 2005), xiv. Serbian translation: Dženet Vinterson, *Teret. Mit o Atlasu i Heraklu* (Beograd: Geopoetika, 2005).

was punished by having to support the whole Earth on his shoulders forever, because of his rebellion against the Olympic gods. He accepted Heracles' offer to take over holding the globe, in exchange for bringing him golden apples from the Hesperides (Atlas' daughters), but was cheated after he had done his part of the bargain. Winterson's literary transposition of the well-known narrative is recognisable until the final chapter and the strange *dénouement* it brings: Atlas, who suffers never-ending cosmic loneliness, is saved when he decides to free himself from the burden (with no catastrophe following the act) and is then joined by Laika, the dog that had been launched into space by the Soviet Sputnik in 1957! In fact, the writer needed such a positive ending because it paralleled her own life story: an example of successfully breaking conventions and managing to find hope and love.

As much as Đorđević was excited about Winterson's *Weight*, that did not apply to the story as a whole. She did not include either the autobiographical parts or the episodes with Heracles in her cantata, deciding to focus on man's striving to overcome all kinds of weight that are obstacles to his fulfilment as an individual. Đorđević's cantata is structured as a series of sung numbers with narrator's parts inserted between them. Whereas the narrator interprets fragments from *Weight*, the sung numbers have texts that are poems written by four Serbian poets (Marija Stojanović – author also of the libretto for *Narcissus and Echo* – Minja Bogavac, Maja Pelević and Periša Perišić). The composer asked her four friends to meditate on Winterson's book and write poems on the main ideas, then she selected a number of them which suited her own ideas most.[19] Metaphorical and allusive, they refer only indirectly to the myth of Atlas. The sung numbers of the cantata, which are based on those poems, keep mainly to the style Đorđević had applied in *Narcissus and Echo*, more specifically to the style of numbers featuring Echo. As in the chamber opera, the stage cantata is composed of heterogeneous musical styles, popular and classical, but in the latter work they are more integrated, giving as a result a predominantly cabaret-like stage work. The only vocalist (the composer herself) is on stage all the time, surrounded by ten orchestral players (strings, piano, horn in F, bassoon, clarinet in B and percussions) and her numbers alternate with those of the Narrator. The musical forms are simple, vocal lines subtle and respectful of the text, while staying melodious, sometimes even catchy, in a broadly defined pop style. Although the texture is homophonic, it is not a plain one, but enriched with meaningful and discreet counterpoint and ornaments.

Vlastimir Trajković and Anja Đorđević are two contemporary Serbian composers of different generations and musical sensibilities, who have been selected in this paper for the study of different ways of approaching ancient Greek myths from contemporary perspectives. In view of the small number of works that have served as 'samples' (only four!), it is difficult to generalise on their ideological contexts within the contemporary Serbian and international musical scenes. However, some conclusions can be drawn

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[19] See more about the work and its creation in Jelena Janković, '"Let me Tell the Story from the Beginning". About the Stage Cantata *Atlas* by Anja Djordjević', *New Sound*, 32 (2008), 200–209 <http://www.newsound.org.rs/en/pdfs/ns32/16.%20Jelena%20Jankovic.pdf>, accessed 10 January 2012.

regarding the ideological contexts of the two authors' creative attitudes towards the mythical contents of their works.

Like so many other composers, Trajković has managed to find his identity as a creator by 'choosing' his 'ancestors' in the worlds of music, art and culture – in his case this meant mainly ancient Greek, Italian Renaissance and twentieth-century French art and music. He has pursued an aesthetic aim which could be understood as a will to assert the continuity of European art based on Greek culture, and to demonstrate that a kind of new Renaissance is still possible through exploring ways of formal freedom, always aiming at order and clarity – preserving at the same time the refinement of rhythm and harmony – and integrating elements of popular music, which could help restore the components of emotion in art music. Keeping alive links with ancient Greek culture, specifically with its mythology, could be interpreted in Trajković's case as a small narrative of constituting/defining his identity as a composer by transcending national borders of tradition and opting for a cosmopolitanism for which Greek antiquity may serve as a symbol. Maybe it is necessary to remark that such an aesthetic and ideological position does not by any means indicate the composer's anti- or a-national attitude, evidence for which could be found in a number of his works. An attempt has been made in this paper towards a closer definition of Trajković's ideology, manifested as a variant of cosmopolitanism which privileges the Franco-Latin branch of European art music over the Germanic. The keywords that characterise *Arion* and *Zephyrus Returns* – new music ('nuove musiche'), the Renaissance (Caccini), and nature (spring winds, sea, awakening of nature) – can be seen as depicting the contemporary state of mind – not just that of one composer, a state of mind calling for a fresh start to preserve continuity with the past, but at the same time opening new horizons.

On the other hand, Đorđević regards ancient Greek mythology as a rich well for universalising her critical views on the relations among individuals in contemporary society. In her chamber opera *Narcissus and Echo* and stage cantata *Atlas*, both composed on original libretti, she deals with the issues of narcissism, unrequited love, fate, loneliness, rebellion and freedom. Especially in the opera, she displays a postmodernist sensibility, a high sense of irony and parody, and leans heavily on pop music. The composer is sensitive to all music around her, not just art music, and she integrates features of different popular music genres into her works, making them accessible to a wider public. Such an approach, using a musical language spread globally, appears to be another expression of cosmopolitan ideology, a suitable way, among others, to give expression to experiences, views, and feelings raised by the ancient Greek myths. Both works discussed in this paper have preserved just a kernel of the selected myths; they have retold the stories exploiting texts which use the mythical story only as a starting point for articulating – in a contemporary and fresh manner – existential dilemmas facing mankind in the past and nowadays.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The Editors

Katerina Levidou studied musicology, the piano and music theory at undergraduate level in Greece (University of Athens and National Conservatory). She received an MMus from King's College London (2003, funded by the A. S. Onassis Benefit Foundation) and a doctorate from the University of Oxford (2009, funded by the Ismene Fitch Foundation and a Vice-Chancellor's Fund Award). Between 2007 and 2011 she was Junior Research Fellow at Christ Church, University of Oxford. In 2011–2012 she held a Swiss Federal Scholarship at the University of Lausanne, where in 2012–2013 she was External Scientific Collaborator (supported by a grant from the Igor Stravinsky Foundation). Her research interests include Russian and Greek music, modernism, nationalism, emigration, politics, spirituality, identity and aesthetics. She has published articles in, among others, the *Slavonic and East European Review* and the *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*. Her current projects include: two co-edited volumes of essays on the reception of Greek antiquity in music since the nineteenth century and a monograph on the relationship between Stravinskian interwar Neoclassicism and Eurasianism. Since 2008 she has been co-convenor of the Study Group for Russian and Eastern European Music of the British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies.

George Vlastos studied piano at the Athens Conservatory and musicology at the Faculty of Music Studies of the University of Athens. In 1998 he was awarded a Master's Degree in Musicology from the University of Sorbonne (Paris IV) and in 2005 he received his doctorate from the University of Athens; his doctoral thesis is entitled: 'The Reception of Greek Antiquity in Early Twentieth-century French Music: 1900–1918'. He is editor in chief of the Greek musicological journal *Polyphonia* (www.polyphonia.gr), a member of the RIPM Greek team (Répertoire International de la Presse Musicale / Retrospective Index to Music Periodicals, 1800–1950) and a contributor of *Grove Music Online*. He has published articles and essays on Greek and French music and he collaborates regularly with the editorial department of The Athens Concert Hall. He has organised and participated in several international musicological congresses in Greece and abroad. He is currently preparing an edited volume on the reception of Greek antiquity in music from the romantic era to the modern age (Cambridge Scholars Publishing).

The Contributors

Srđan Atanasovski (1983, Kumanovo, F.Y.R. of Macedonia) graduated from the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, where he is currently a Ph.D. student of musicology and is working on a dissertation entitled 'Music Practices and the Production of National Territory'. Atanasovski received an award by the National Office of the President of the Republic for academic achievement and social engagement in 2009, as well as a scholarship from the Austrian Agency for International Cooperation in the academic year 2010–2011. He has participated in an array of international conferences. Since 2011 he works at the Institute of Musicology SASA as a research associate.

Alexandros Charkiolakis was born in Athens. He studied music at the Hellenic Conservatoire and the University of Sheffield, from where he graduated in 2002 with a Bachelor in Music (Hons) and a Master's in Music by research degree at the same university. He has published papers and articles in major Greek and foreign musical and musicological periodicals. He has participated in several international conferences presenting his research. He has worked as a musicologist at the Music Library of Greece 'Lilian Voudouri' and since January 2013 he is Head of the 'Erol Üçer' Music Library of MIAM in the Istanbul Technical University.

Valia Christopoulou (Ph.D. in Musicology, University of Athens, 2009) graduated from the Faculty of French Language and Literature and the Faculty of Music Studies of the University of Athens. She also received a piano diploma and a harmony degree from the National Conservatory of Athens, and a counterpoint degree from the Athenaeum Conservatory. She was the curator of the exhibition 'Yorgos Sicilianos. The Composer in the Avant-garde of Contemporary Music' (Benaki Museum, 2007). She is the author of the *Catalogue of Works of Yorgos Sicilianos* (Athens: Panas Music, 2011). She teaches piano and also runs the group of experimental music at the Pallini Music High School.

Anna Dalos studied musicology at the Franz Liszt Academy of Music, Budapest (1993–1998), and attended the Doctoral Program in Musicology of the same institution (1998–2002). She spent a year on a German exchange scholarship (DAAD) at the Humboldt University, Berlin (1999–2000). As a winner of the 'Lendület' grant of the Hungarian Academ of Sciences, she is currently head of the newly-founded Archives and Research Group for the 20th-21st Century Hungarian Music of the Musicological Institute, Research Centre for Humanities. Her research is focused on twentieth-century music, the history of composition and musicology in Hungary. Her book on Zoltán Kodály's poetics was published in Budapest in 2007.

Dominique Escande, professeur agrégée, completed her Ph.D. at the University of Paris IV-Sorbonne (2005, 'Convergences and Divergences between the Fine Arts and Music around the Classical Ideal in France from 1909 to 1937') under Professor Michèle Barbe. She worked at the Cité de la musique (Paris, 2000–2003) and taught at the University Pierre Mendes-France (Grenoble, 2003–2005). She is Programme Editor at the Philharmonie Luxembourg and teaches at the University Paul Verlaine in Metz. She recently presented her work about Poulenc's *Aubade* at Keele University (June 2013) and Antoine Tisné's film music *Les Lettres de mon moulin* (Pagnol) at Ajaccio (September 2013).

Born in Constantinople, tenor and musicologist **Demosthenes Fistouris** has diplomas of vocal art, Byzantine music, harmony, counterpoint and fugue. He received his undergraduate degree from the Metallurgy Department of the Technical University of Athens. Thanks to a scholarship from the Alexandros S. Onassis Foundation he continued his studies of classical song in Italy with various opera masters such as Luigi Alva, Arrigo Pola, Carlo Bergonzi and Renata Scotto. At the moment, he is completing his doctoral dissertation on 'The Melodic Line and Vocal Writing in the Operas of Spyros Samaras' at the Faculty of Music Studies of the University of Athens. He has participated in many international music conferences, ranging from ancient and Byzantine music to avant-garde Italian operas. He has collaborated as soloist-tenor with the Greek National Opera, – The Athens Concert Hall, the Festival Dimitria (Thessaloniki) and the Municipal Theatres of Vercelli, Modena, Belli in works of the regular repertory of composers such as Haydn, Handel, Mozart, Donizetti, Rossini, Verdi, Puccini and so on. He is currently a professor of vocal training, Byzantine music and choral conducting at conservatories and drama schools in Athens. He also composes music for theatre.

Christoph Flamm is Professor of Applied Musicology at the University of Klagenfurt, Austria. He received his Ph.D. at Heidelberg University in 1995. From 1994 to 2001 he has worked full-time as member of the editorial staff of the encyclopedia *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. He was scientific assistant at the Department of Music History of the Istituto Storico Germanico in Rome from 2001 to 2004. In 2005 he was awarded a two-year grant from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. In 2007 he received his Habilitation at the University of the Saarland in Saarbrücken. He has been Visiting Professor at Berlin University of the Arts in 2011/12.

Maria Hnaraki holds a Diploma of Arts in Music Studies from the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens and a M.A. and a Ph.D. in Folklore and Ethnomusicology from Indiana University. Additionally, she has a Piano Soloist Diploma and degrees in Theory, Pedagogy and Music Education. Her 2007 book *Cretan Music: Unraveling Ariadne's Thread* (Athens: Kerkyra Publications) received the 'Young Academic Writer and Researcher' prize from the Pancretan Association. She has received numerous awards and has extensively presented,

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Magdalini Kalopana (b. 1976, Athens) completed her doctoral thesis with the title 'Dimitris Dragatakis: Works Catalogue' (Faculty of Music Studies, University of Athens) in 2008, being a scholar of the State Scholarship Foundation. As a musicologist she has collaborated with the Athens Concert Hall, the Third Programme of the Hellenic Radio and the D. Dragatakis's Friends Society for various editions, productions and concerts. Her papers have been presented at international musicological conferences in Greece and abroad, and published in proceedings and musicological periodicals. She is member of the Editorial and the Scientific Board of the Greek musicological periodical *Polyphonia* (est. 2002).

Melita Milin is researcher at the Institute of Musicology in Belgrade, Serbia. She studied musicology at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade and then obtained her doctoral degree at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia. Her research is focused on twentieth-century Serbian music and its relations to European developments. Special attention is devoted to the works of Ljubica Marić, a prominent contemporary woman composer, then to Serbian music between the two World Wars, and also to the most recent art music production. Her investigations include the study of influences of dominant ideologies (national and political) on composers' works and their relations to aesthetical programs and practices elsewhere in the world. She was co-founder and editor of the international journal *Musicology*.

Georgia Petroudi holds a doctorate degree in Historical Musicology from the University of Sheffield. She began her studies at Wittenberg University, United States, and earned a Bachelor in Music in Piano and Oboe Performance. During her studies in the States, she gave several recitals and participated as a finalist and earned prizes at international piano competitions. In 2007 she was appointed Lecturer at the Department of Arts, European University Cyprus. She served as the co-coordinator of the music program, and from 2010 onwards she serves as Chair of the Department. Her research interests include Western composers of the first half of the twentieth century, Greek and Greek-Cypriot composers. More specifically, she focuses on revised compositions, and issues that relate to the revising process such as creativity and politics. Georgia has presented her work at international conferences and published relevant papers in journals.

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James William Sobaskie teaches at Mississippi State University and is Book Reviews Editor of *Nineteenth-century Music Review*. His publications include essays on music of Franz Schubert and Fryderyk Chopin, but his research focuses on Gabriel Fauré. A member of the *comité scientifique* for *Œuvres Complétes de Gabriel Fauré*, published by Bärenreiter, Dr Sobaskie's critical edition of Fauré's last two works, the *Trio pour piano, violon et violoncelle* and the *Quatuor à cordes*, inaugurated the complete works series in 2010. At present he is completing a book, *The Music of Gabriel Fauré: Style, Structure and the Art of Allusion*, for Ashgate.

Musicologist and researcher **Andriana Soulele** completed her first musical studies at the Polymnio Conservatory of Patras. In 1998 she was accepted to the Faculty of Music Studies at the University of Athens, from where she graduated in 2003. A year later she completed her Master's Degree in the History of Music and Musicology at the University of Paris Sorbonne. She continued her studies there, successfully presenting her Doctoral Dissertation in Musicology (Ph.D.) in the summer of 2009 ('Incidental Music for the Stagings of Greek Tragedy in France and in Greece from 1945 to 1975'), supported by a research scholarship funded by the University of Paris Sorbonne (Paris IV) and supervised by Professor Jean-Pierre Bartoli. She was qualified as Associate Professor (Maître de Conférences) in 2010. Andriana Soulele has participated in various musicological conferences in Europe and published several articles in various academic journals. Being interested in incidental music and the opera, she worked with Sylvie Douche for the musical edition of Maurice Emmanuel's *Amphitryon*. As associate researcher to the University of Poitiers (CRIHAM) since 2009, she participates in a research program for the French opera in the twentieth century (OPEFRA), directed by Cécile Auzolle.

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Ana Stefanović, musicologist, received her MA degree at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade. She received her Ph.D. in musicology at the University Paris IV Sorbonne. She is employed as Associate Professor at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade. She also works as associate researcher at University Paris IV Sorbonne (research team: 'Patrimoines et Langages Musicaux'), and collaborates with the Centre de musique baroque de Versailles. The main areas of her research are the relation between music and text in opera and lied, as well as

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Agamemnon Tentes is a Ph.D. in historical musicology, theory of humanistic research, and the *New Method of Music* by the University of Copenhagen (2009). He has experience in delivering university classes on relevant topics (since 2004), has presented relevant papers at musicological conferences (since 2002), is author of articles in the same fields (since 2003), and has directed the organisation, registering, and classification of the post-Byzantine Musical Archive of Nēleus Kamarados at the Music Library of Greece Lilian Voudouri (2005–2006). His recent research work includes participation in the Research Group of Paleography of the Aristotle University (Thessaloniki, 2013).

Harikleia Tsokani is Assistant Professor of Music and Communication at the Department of Communication, Media and Culture of the Panteion University, Athens. She has published papers and articles relating to the musical qualities of the Greek language, communication tropes in folk songs, musical experience in the twentieth century, and musical symbolism and impressionism. In recent years, her research has focused on the meanings and symbols of sound in Greek culture, ancient and modern. *The Screaming of the Medusa*, her study of the birth of music out of myth, is available from Aleksandreia Publications (2006). Her new book *Musical Fury - On the Origins of Bacchic Enthusiasm* (Athens: Aleksandreia Publications, 2011) examines the phenomenon of mystical musical elation in ancient Greek tradition.

Ákos Windhager (Art's Harmony Society, Budapest) wrote his comparative literature Ph.D. thesis (Eötvös Lorand University, Budapest) about Edmund Mihalovich and the musical workshops of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He has presented papers at international conferences (for example in Barcelona, Szczecin, Bad Gastein), while his academic papers have been published in international reviews (such as *News About Mahler Research*, 2013). He has been lecturer at some universities in Hungary (for instance the University of Fine Arts) and abroad (for example Sapientia University, Romania). Beyond his research he has been engaged in PR activities of the Art's Harmony Society. His recent projects are about politics in music, cultural cross-overs, and the next audience of classics.

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